



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

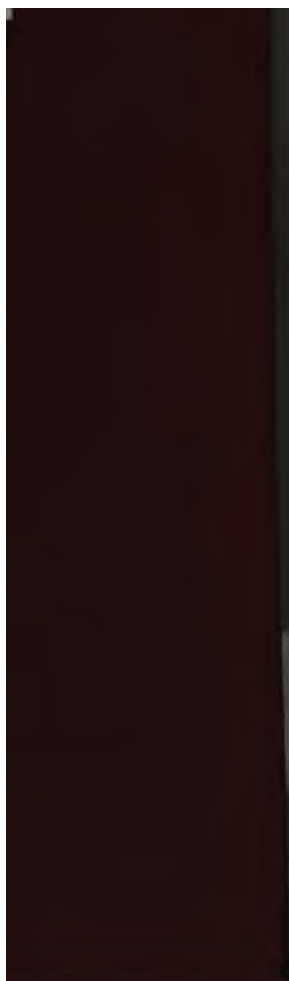
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



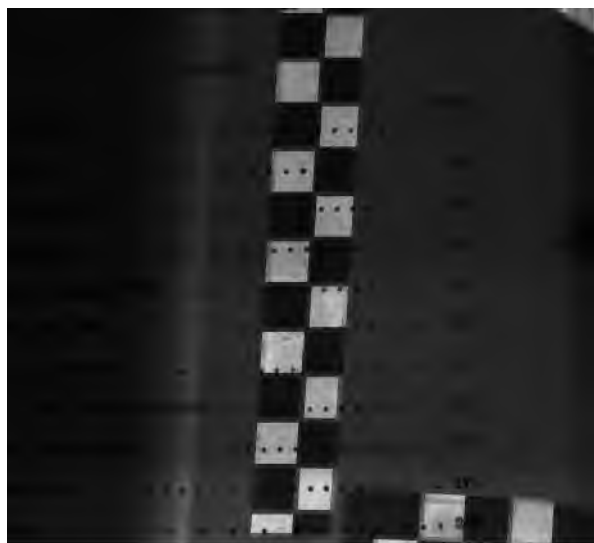
406

Presented by
Mrs. Henry R. Hoyt,
to the
New York Public Library

23

1841







HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF

STATESMEN

WHO FLOURISHED IN

THE TIME OF GEORGE III.;

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

REMARKS ON PARTY, AND AN APPENDIX.

FIRST SERIES.

VOLUME I.

BY

HENRY LORD BROUGHAM, F.R.S.,

AND MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE.

LONDON:

G. COX, 18, KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN.

1853.

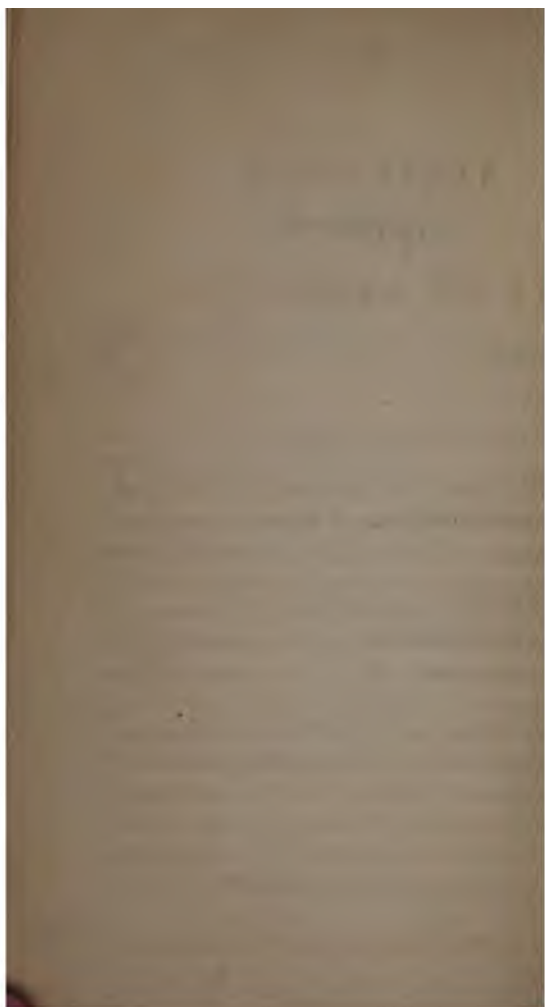
THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

244411

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.
1902

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	5
PART III.	10
CHATHAM	24
NORTH	61
LOUGHBOROUGH	87
THURLOW	109
MANSFIELD	124
CHIEF JUSTICE GIBBS	153
WILLIAM GRANT	167
MURKE	175
OX	218



STATESMEN

OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE III.

INTRODUCTION.

rs of men, the interests and the history of the relative value of institutions as discovered by their actual working, the merits of different systems of policy as tried by their effects, are all perfectly examined without a thorough knowledge of the individuals who administered the government and presided over the management of the public concerns. The history of empires is, indeed, the history of men, not only of the nominal rulers of the people, but of all the leading persons who exerted a sensible influence over the destinies of our fellow-creatures, whether the traces of that influence survived themselves, or, as in the case of despots, their power was confined to their own

From another view, this kind of inquiry, this

species of record, is even more important. only the world at large is thus instructed, but character of statesmen and rulers is improved. Examples are held up of the faults which they are to avoid, and of the virtues which they are to cultivate. Nor can history ever be the school of potentates, whether on or near the throne, unless character and the conduct of their predecessors be thoroughly scrutinized. This task has been attempted in the following work, which aspires therefore, to a higher office than merely amuse the vacant hours of the idle (the hours a man is more unemployed than the bulk of their time), aims at recording, for the warning or for the encouragement of the great, the errors or the wisdom, the vices or the virtues, of their predecessors. It is a well-meant contribution, of which the merit is very humbly rated by its author, to the fund of Useful Knowledge as applied to the Education of those upon whose information or ignorance the fortunes of mankind in an especial manner depend. But, how moderate soever may be the merit of the contributor, the value of the contribution is not easily be estimated too highly, if, by only stating the facts with careful accuracy, and drawing inferences with undeviating candour, those who voluntarily assume the government of nations are taught to regard their duties as paramount to their interests, and made to learn that ignorance of

are their eyes th
 their punishment to
 the reward to sti
 every season will
 kind, the votaries
 hold up to vene
 the slave of ambition or avarice, and
 would forge fetters for their fellow-creatures
 under their sub
 to the scorn a
 The chief objectio
 soon after the pe
 may have left this earthly scene, arises from the
 difficulty of preserving strict impartiality in consi
 dering their merits. This difficulty is not denied ;
 a formidable magnitude is not underrated. Even
 no human feelings with respect to men, between
 whom and ourselves there may have existed rela
 tions of amity or of hostility, swayed the mind, yet
 we are ever prone to view through a distorting
 medium those whose principles agreed with or
 differed from our own upon questions still of daily
 occurrence—of men, too, whose party connexions
 united them with classes still in existence and
 actively engaged in the proceedings of the present
 day.

But, while this is admitted to render the attempt
 difficult, it may not be found too make it hopeless.

At any rate we are placed in a choice of evils. Postponement till the day when there should be no possibility of passion or prejudice shading the judgment of the historian may extinguish the recollection of the facts, which alone can give value to his narrative. The transfer of the work to mere strangers, who can be animated by no feeling of a personal interest, leaves it in hands, if not altogether incapable of performing it satisfactorily, at least inferior to those who were contemporary statesmen. At the very least, the portraits may be regarded as materials for a history, if not worthy of being called historical portraits themselves; and future penmen may work upon them with the benefit of contemporary testimony, and without facts, though free from the bias which may have influenced the conclusions. The author can only affirm, and this he does most conscientiously, that he has ever felt under a sacred obligation to the truth of his resemblances without either exaggeration or concealment; that he has written as if he had lived in the age or country from those whose rulers he endeavoured to describe; and that, if any passions or predilections have operated upon his mind, they have been unknown to himself. He is quite aware that some may consider this as a very equitable test of his impartiality, if they do not rather regard it as an additional symptom of blind prepossession.

he thinks the praise bestowed upon known personal adversaries, and the disapproval, admitted to be just, of conduct frequently held by the party whose services to the cause of freedom he is so grateful, will be taken as some evidence of moral impartiality, though it may not suffice to exempt him from the charge of having sometimes carelessly fallen into the snares that beset the path of whoever would write contemporary annals.

GEORGE III.

THE centre figure round which the others that compose this picture group themselves, and with which they almost all have relations, is that of George III., a prince whose long reign, during by far the most important period in the history of the human race, rendered his character and conduct a matter of the deepest interest not only to the people of his vast dominions, but to all mankind. He presided over the destinies of the British Empire, the only free state in the world, during an age that witnessed the establishment of independence in the new hemisphere, and the extension of liberty over a great portion of the old. He ruled a most enlightened nation of modern times, and dispelled the remains of feudal darkness in Europe, carried its light over other quarters of the globe, and discovered and cultivated unknown resources. Wherefore, his capacity, whether to appreciate the progress of his people, or to aid in the progress of his people, his species, if he should have the wisdom to follow the right path, or to obstruct it, should

usually deem resistance the better course, was a matter of the greatest importance both to himself personally, to the order in which his lot was cast, and to the rest of mankind. Unhappily he took the wrong direction; and, having once taken, persevered in it with the pertinacity that marks little minds of all ranks, but which in royal understandings often amounts to a mental disease.

Of a narrow understanding, which no culture had enlarged; of an obstinate disposition, which no education, perhaps, could have humanized; of strong feelings in ordinary things, and a resolute attachment to all his own opinions and predilections, George III. possessed much of the firmness of purpose which, being exhibited by men of contracted mind without any discrimination, and as pertinaciously when they are in the wrong as when they are in the right, lends to their characters an appearance of inflexible consistency, which is often mistaken for greatness of mind, and not seldom received as a substitute for honesty. In all that related to his kingly office he was the slave of deep-rooted selfishness; and no feeling of a kindly nature ever was allowed access to his bosom, whenever his power was concerned, either in its maintenance or in the manner of exercising it. In other respects, he was a man of amiable disposition, and few princes have been more exemplary in their domestic habits, or in the offices of private friend.

ship. But the instant that his prerogative concerned, or his bigotry interfered with, or will thwarted, the most unbending pride, the bitter animosity, the most calculating coldness of heart, the most unforgiving resentment, took possession of his whole breast, and swayed it by turn. The habits of friendship, the ties of blood, the dictates of conscience, the rules of honesty, were all forgotten; and the fury of the tyrant, with the resources of a cunning which mental alienation supposed to whet, were ready to circumvent or destroy all who interposed an obstacle to the fierceness of unbridled desire. His conduct through the American war, and towards the Irish people has often been cited as illustrative of the darkness of his public character; and his treatment of his eldest son, whom he hated with a hatred scarcely consistent with the supposition of a sound mind, might seem to illustrate the shadier part of his personal disposition; but it was in truth only another part of his public, his professional conduct, for he had no better reason for this implacable aversion than the jealousy which men have of their successors, and the consciousness that the Prince who must succeed him, was unlike him, and, being disliked by him, must, during their joint lives, be thrown into the hands of the Whig party, the adversaries he most of all detested and feared.

Although much of the character now portra

origin in natural defect, and part of it in a
 aged with disease, yet they who had the
 his youth are deeply answerable for the
 which both added to it many defects, and
 d those of nature from being eradicated or
 cted. His mother, the Dowager Princess,
 roman of neither knowledge, accomplish-
 or abilities; and she confided his education
 iend, now generally believed to have stood
 e tender relation towards her, Lord Bute.
 nt of instruction of which George III.
 mplain must have been great indeed; for,
 an was little likely to overrate the value
 fluous or extensive information, it was he.
 vitness, above all suspicion, Sir Herbert
 has recorded that he lamented, while he
 , his want of education. Can there be a
 ameful thing related? Can any parties, in
 on of his Royal parent and her favourite,
 y of a more disgraceful breach of duty than
 the future monarch of a free and enlight-
 ple without the instruction which all but
 er classes of his subjects give to their chil-
 a matter of course?

not deficient in natural quickness, and the
 gularly industrious because of his habitually
 te life, he made himself thoroughly master
 e ordinary details of business; insomuch,
 same high authority has ascribed to him a

more thorough knowledge of the duties of several department in the state than any other man ever possessed; and this is the testimony of both singularly accurate in stating facts, and eminently qualified to form such a comparative estimate by his own intimate acquaintance with official details. We must, however, take care not to overrate the difficulty or the value of this acquirement. Kings have a peculiar interest in ascertaining the bounds of each department's duties and rights. They find protection in keeping each within its own limits. Coming, of necessity, into frequent contact with them all, monarchs can easily master the knowledge of their several prerogatives and functions; so that this becomes like heraldry and etiquette, wherein they are all great proficients. emphatically a Royal branch of knowledge. No proofs remain, nor has even any assertion been made, that he had any familiarity with the noble branches of information connected with state affairs: the constitution and privileges of parliament; the jurisdiction of Courts; the principles, nay, even the details of banking, or of trade generally; the East India or Colonial affairs of his Empire; the interests of foreign countries; the statistics of his own; all of them kinds of knowledge as certainly worthy of princes as they are generally despised by them. That he was a diligent man of business, punctual to his appointments, regular in the dis-

action of | | | | | when his mechanical interposition | | | | | always ready to continue at work until the affair in hand was despatched, nor ever a | | | | | pleasure or distraction of any kind to interfere with the transaction of the matters belonging to his high station, is as undeniable as that all this might be predicated of one who had the most limited capacity, or the most confined information, and who had little else to recommend him than the strict sense of his official duties, and the resolution to make everything yield to the discharge of them, those duties being much more of the hand than the head.

But it would be a great mistake to imagine that George III.'s ambition was confined within the range of his abilities. He was impressed with a lofty feeling of his prerogative, and a firm determination to maintain, perhaps extend it. At all events, he was resolved not to be a mere name, or a cipher in public affairs; and, whether from a sense of the obligations imposed upon him by his station, or from a desire to enjoy all its powers and privileges, he certainly, while his reason remained entire, but especially during the earlier period of his reign, interfered in the affairs of government more than any prince who ever sat upon the throne of this country since our monarchy was distinctly admitted to be a limited one, and its executive functions were distributed among responsible mini-

STATESMEN OF TIME OF GEORGE III.

rs. The correspondence which he carried on with his confidential servants during the ten most critical years of his life lies before us, and it proves that his attention was ever awake to all the occurrences of the government. Not a step was taken in foreign, colonial, or domestic affairs, that he did not form his opinion upon it, and exercise his influence over it. The instructions to ambassadors, the orders to governors, the movements of forces down to the marching of a single battalion in the districts of this country, the appointments to all offices in church and state, not only the giving away of judgeships, bishoprics, regiments, but the subordinate promotions, lay and clerical; all these form the topics of his letters; on all his opinion pronounced decisively; on all his will is declared peremptorily. In one letter he decides the appointment of a Scotch puisne judge; in another the march of a troop from Buckinghamshire into Yorkshire; in a third the nomination to the Dean of Worcester; in a fourth he says that, "if A. the architect, succeeds Worsley at the Board Works, he shall think Chambers ill used."*

For the greater affairs of state it is well known how substantially he insisted upon being the *de facto* as well as *de jure*. The American

* This was in 1777, in the middle of the most moment of the American contest; the letter immediately preceding relates to the sum of affairs.

g exclusion of the Liberal party, the French question, the Catholic question, are all and more of his real power. Of all his resolutions in affairs, the desire to retain America in union seems to have been his strongest project; during the whole contest all his opinions, feelings, and all his designs, turned upon what he termed the "preservation of the empire." As his rooted prejudice against both the Americans and the French unconnected with the party which took in behalf of the colonies. Rather than let his hold over those provinces and receive them into his confidence, or do what he called "submitting to be trampled on by his enemies," he sometimes threatened to abdicate, and they knew him are well aware that he did not do so without a fixed resolution to act. No less than twice within four days, in March 1778, did he use this language, in the agony of his mind, at a junction with the Whig party proposed by the first minister; and upon one occasion he says, "If the people will not stand by me, they shall support another king, for I never will set my hand to anything that will make me miserable to the last hour of my life." The threat is revived upon the division of the House of Commons by Lord North four years afterwards.

Such a sovereign was, for the servants he had in, the best possible master, may well be said. He gave them his entire and hearty

support. If he kept a watchful eye on proceedings both of parliament and the if we find him one day commenting on taken in debate as "dangerous," at another and vacillating," or discussing the comp the majority or its numbers upon the di suggesting that the journey of Mr. Fox should "make the different departments all their business before he comes back, and have much less noise for the next three or expressing his conviction that "the illness is feigned, and all to let the oppos their pleasure at Newmarket;" he also ask deserted you last night that you thought right to count upon? Give me their nam may mark my sense of their behaviour at ing-room to-morrow;" and again, "If t obsequiousness on my part, at the leve can gain over Mr. Solicitor-General to y it shall not be wanting." This was, inc ciently supporting a favourite ministry; he had one forced upon him, his whole was the reverse; all his countenance be to their antagonists, until the moment arr he could safely throw them out.

The first impression which such cond is unfavourable to the monarch, and m sight even give rise to an opinion that i constitutional But further reflection n

The question is, whether the king of this or that country holds a real or only a nominal office? Is he a monarch in form, or is he a monarch in substance? Some maintain, nay, it is a prevailing notion among certain statesmen, that if of no mean rank, as the sovereign, he is a monarch in his ministers, and gives over to them the whole executive power. They treat him as a kind of trustee for a temporary period, to preserve, as it were, a contingent estate; they assign to him, to hold the property of the state for a day, and then divest himself of the estate by assigning it over. They regard the executive power really vested in the crown to be the choice of ministers, and even the exercise of this to be controlled by the parliament. They reduce the king more completely to the condition of a state pageant or state cipher than one of Abbé Fénélon's constitutions did, when he proposed to create a Grand Functionary with no power except to give away offices; upon which Napoleon, then first consul, to whom the proposition was tendered, asked if it well became him to be made a "Cochon d'Inde à la somme de trois millions par an?" * The English animal, according to the Whig doctrine, much more nearly answers this somewhat coarse description; for the Abbé's plan was to give

* A hog to be fattened at the rate of 120,000*l.* a-year.

his royal beast a substantial voice in the distribution of all patronage ; while our lion is only to have the sad prerogative of naming whomsoever the parliament chooses, and eating his own meat in quiet.

Now, with all the disposition in the world to desire that Royal prerogative should be restricted, and the will of the nation govern the national affairs, we cannot comprehend this theory of a monarchy. It assigns to the Crown either far too much revenue, or far too little power. To pay a million a-year, or more, for a name, seems absurdly extravagant. To affect living under a kingly government, and yet suffer no kind of kingly power, seems extravagantly absurd. Surely the meaning of having a sovereign is, that his voice should be heard, and his influence felt, in the administration of public affairs. The different orders of the state have a right to look towards that high quarter all in their turn for support when their rights are invaded by one another's encroachments, or to claim the Royal umpirage when their mutual conflicts cannot be settled by mutual concessions, and unless the whole notion of a mixed monarchy, and a balance of three powers, is a mere fiction and a dream, the royal portion of the composition must be allowed to have some power, to produce some effect upon the quality of the whole. It is denied that George III. sought to rule too much

...and he said a great deal of sense. He was a liberal in the sense of the word, but not in the sense of the word. But he was not the only one who was by no means willing according to his own principles and values his influence for the good of others. He must be asked whether he was adverse to monarchy, and whether he was adverse to all the evils of the world, or if a form of government would make him think the world rather than his country, and would purchase the removal of the greatest evils by the highest price, and whether he was adverse to the risk of a change.¹⁰

...and in his private life had many other faults already stated, with the qualification of these being always, even as regards his domestic affections, kept in subordination to his country. With regard to his education, it must be added that he was a man of men, and by any means the best that could be found in the constitution.

kindness nor an injury. Nor can this sketch more appropriately closed than with two remarkable examples of the implacable hatred he bore enemies, and the steady affection with which he cherished his friends.

Among the former, Lord Chatham held the conspicuous place, apparently from the time of the American question; for at an earlier period his correspondence with that great man was friendly. But the following is his answer to North's proposal that Lord Chatham's pension should be settled in reversion on his younger son, afterwards so well known as the second William Pitt. It bears date August 9th, 1775. "making Lord Chatham's family suffer for the conduct of their father is not in the least agreeable to my sentiments. But I should choose to know how I am to be totally unable to appear again on the political stage before I agree to any offer of that kind; it should be wrongly construed into a fear of death, and indeed his political conduct the last winter was so abandoned, that he must, in the eyes of the public, have totally undone all the merit of his former conduct. As to any gratitude to be expected from him or his family, the whole ten years of their lives has shown them void of that most noble sentiment. But *when decrepitude or death put an end to him as a trumpet of sedition*, I shall have no difficulty in placing the second son's name in the list of the father's, and making up the pension 30

From the truly savage feelings which this letter displays, it is agreeable to turn the eye upon so amiable a contrast as the following affords, written to the minister whom he ever loved beyond all his other servants, and only quitted when the Coalition united him to the Whigs:—

“Having paid the last arrears (Sept. 1777) on the Civil List, I must now do the same for you. I have understood, from your hints, that you have been in debt ever since you settled in life. I must therefore insist that you allow me to assist you with 10,000*l.*, or 15,000*l.*, or even 20,000*l.*, if that will be sufficient. It will be easy for you to make an arrangement, or at proper times to take up that sum. You know me very ill if you think not that, of all the letters I ever wrote to you, this one gives me the greatest pleasure; and I want no other return but your being convinced that I love you as well as a man of worth, as I esteem you as a minister. Your conduct at a critical moment I never can forget.”

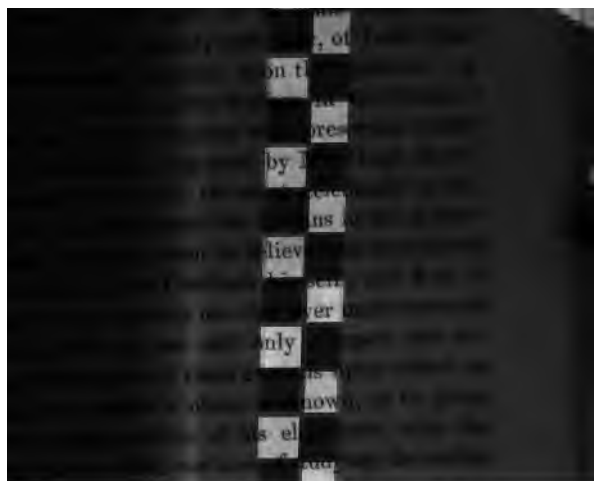
These remarkable and characteristic letters naturally introduce to us his two celebrated correspondents, Lord Chatham and Lord North; the one, until Mr. Fox came upon the stage, of all his adversaries, the one he pursued with the most unrelenting hatred; the other, of all his servants, the one for whom he felt the warmest friendship.

LORD CHATHAM.

THERE is hardly any man in modern times, with the exception, perhaps, of Lord Somers, who fills so large a space in our history, and of whom we know so little, as Lord Chatham; and yet he is the person to whom every one would at once point if desired to name the most successful statesman and most brilliant orator that this country ever produced. Of Lord Somers, indeed, we can scarcely be said to know anything at all. That he was a person of unimpeachable integrity, a judge of great capacity and learning, a firm friend of liberty, by a cautious and safe counsellor in most difficult emergencies, all are ready to acknowledge. By the authority which he possessed among his contemporaries, the influence which his sound and practical wisdom exercised over their proceedings, the services which he was thus enabled to render in steering the constitution safe through the most trying times, and saving us from arbitrary power without paying the price of our liberties in anarchy and bloodshed,—nay, conducting the whole proceedings of a revolution with all the deliberation



public. At one period they were given in feigned names, as if held in the Senate of Rome by the ancient orators and statesmen; at another they were conveyed under the initials only of names borne by the real speakers. Even when somewhat later, these disguises were thrown aside, the speeches were composed by persons who had not been present at the debates, but gleaned a few heads of each speaker's topics from some one who had heard him; and the fullest and most authentic of all those accounts are merely the meagre outline of the subjects touched upon, preserved in the Diaries or Correspondence of some contemporary politicians, and presenting not even an approximation to the execution of the orators. Thus many of Lord Chatham's earlier speeches in the House of Commons, as now preserved, were avowedly the composition of Dr. Johnson, whose measure of style, formal periods, balanced antitheses, and total want of pure racy English, betray their author in every line, while each debater is made to speak exactly in the same manner. For some years after he ceased to report, or rather to manufacture, it is, from 1751 downwards, a Dr. Gordon furnished the newspapers with reports, consisting of more or more accurate accounts of what had passed in debate, but without pretending to give more than the mere substance of the several speeches. In the debates upon the American Stamp Act, in 17



short of presumption, after this statement, to attempt including his character as an orator in the sketch which may be given of this great man. But the testimony of contemporaries may so far be helped by what remains of the oratory itself, as to make some faint conceptions attainable of that eloquence which, for effect at least, has surpassed any known in modern times.

The first place among the great qualities which distinguished Lord Chatham, is unquestionably due to firmness of purpose, resolute determination in the pursuit of his objects. This was the characteristic of the younger Brutus, as he said, who hesitated not to spare his life to fall by his hand—*Quicquid vult valde vult*; and although extremely apt to exuberate in excess, it must be admitted to be the foundation of all true greatness of character. Everything, however, depends upon the endowments in comparison of which it is found; and in Lord Chatham there were of a very high order. The quickness with which he could ascertain his object, and discover his road to it, was fully commensurate with his perseverance and his boldness in pursuing it; the firmness of grasp with which he held his advantage was fully equalled by the rapidity of the glare with which he discovered it. Add to this, a mind eminently fertile in resources; a courage which nothing could daunt in the choice of his means; resolution equally indomitable in their application.

the weighty words of his
the mastery of the art of
the mastery of his country
the objects of a compelling
the allies of parliament of per
the common set before his
of a public to further
his mission. In pursuing his course
he more ardent like the fervent
the sales of popular applause, ex
dedicated to the vengeance of the
against all corruptions, and
the strictest checks of public
he related the statutes of par
and could enthusiastically exclaim,
"a statement of antiquity." "Ego
ful ut invidiam fortis pariam,
gloriam putarem."

...in more en... the
...this country at the time
...ST A...

tinental powers in unnatural union to effect destruction ; with an army of insignificant amount and commanded by men only desirous of grasping at the emoluments, without doing the duties, incurring the risks of their profession ; with a navy that could hardly keep the sea, and whose chiefs, allied with their comrades on shore in earning the character given them by the new Minister,—being utterly unfit to be trusted in any enterprise accompanied with the least appearance of danger, with a generally prevailing dislike of both services which at once repressed all desire of joining either, and damped all public spirit in the country, extinguishing all hope of success, and even the love of glory—it was hardly possible for a nation to be placed in circumstances more inauspicious for military exertions ; and yet war raged in every quarter of the world where our dominion extended, while the territories of our only ally, as well as those of our own sovereign in Germany, were invaded by France, and her forces by sea and land menaced our shores. In the distant possessions of the Crown the same want of enterprise and spirit prevailed. Armies in the West were paralysed by the inaction of a Captain who would hardly take the pains of writing a despatch to chronicle the nonentity of his operations ; and in the East, while frightful disasters were brought upon our settlements by Barbarian powers,

military capacity that appeared in their de-
was the accidental display of genius and
by a merchant's clerk, who thus raised him-
celebrity.* In this forlorn state of affairs,
rendered it as impossible to think of peace,
less to continue the yet inevitable war, the
and sordid views of politicians kept pace with
an spirit of the military caste; and parties
split or united, not upon any difference or
ment of public principle, but upon mere
ons of patronage and of share in the public
while all seemed alike actuated by one only
i, the thirst alternately of power and of

soon as Mr. Pitt took the helm, the steady-
the hand that held it was instantly felt in
motion of the vessel. There was no more of
ng counsels, of torpid inaction, of listless
ancy, of abject despondency. His firmness
confidence, his spirit roused courage, his
ce secured exertion, in every department
his sway. Each man, from the first Lord
Admiralty down to the most humble clerk
Victualling Office—each soldier, from the
under-in-Chief to the most obscure contractor
missary—now felt assured that he was act-
was indolent under the eye of one who knew

* Mr. Clive, afterwards Lord Clive.

his duties and his means as well as his own, and who would very certainly make all defaulters whether through misfeasance or through nonfeasance, accountable for whatever detriment the commonwealth might sustain at their hands. Over his immediate coadjutors his influence swiftly obtained an ascendant which it ever after retained uninterrupted. Upon his first proposition for changing the conduct of the war, he stood single among his colleagues, and tendered his resignation should they persist in their dissent; they at once succumbed, and from that hour ceased to have an opinion of their own upon any branch of the public affairs. Nay, so absolutely was he determined to have the control of those measures, of which he knew the responsibility rested upon him alone, that he insisted upon the first Lord of the Admiralty not having the correspondence of his own department; and no less eminent a naval character than Lord Anson, as well as his junior Lords, were obliged to sign the naval orders issued by Mr. Pitt while the writing was covered over from their eyes!

The effects of this change in the whole management of the public business, and in all the plans of the Government, as well as in their execution, were speedily made manifest to the world. The German troops were sent home, and a well-regulated militia being established to defend the country, a large

possible force was distributed over the various
 tions whence the enemy might be annoyed.
 sea, attacked on some points, and menaced on
 the, was compelled to retire from Germany,
 afterwards suffered the most disastrous defeats,
 instead of threatening England and her allies
 invasion, had to defend herself against attack,
 being severely in several of her most important
 stations. No less than sixteen islands, and
 elements, and fortresses of importance, were
 from her in America, and Asia, and Africa,
 lading all her West Indian colonies, except St.
 mingo, and all her settlements in the East.
 a whole important province of Canada was like-
 conquered; and the Havannah was taken
 in Spain. Besides this, the seas were swept clear
 the fleets that had so lately been insulting our
 onies, and even our coasts. Many general
 ions were fought and gained; one among them
 most decisive that had ever been fought by our
 ry. Thirty-six sail of the line were taken or
 stroyed; fifty frigates; forty-five sloops of war.
 brilliant a course of uninterrupted success had
 ver, in modern times, attended the arms of any
 tion carrying on war with other states equal to
 in civilisation, and nearly a match in power.
 it is a more glorious feature in this unexampled
 ministration which history has to record, when
 adds, that all public distress had disappeared;

that all discontent in any quarter, both of colonies and parent state, had ceased; that no oppression was anywhere practised, no abuse suffered to prevail; that no encroachments were made upon the rights of the subject, no malversation tolerated in the possessors of power; and that England, the first time and for the last time, presented an astonishing picture of a nation supporting with murmur a widely-extended and costly war, and a people, hitherto torn with conflicting parties, united in the service of the commonwealth that voice of faction had ceased in the land, and discordant whisper was heard no more. "These" (said the son of his first and most formidable adversary, Walpole, when informing his correspondents abroad, that the session, as usual, had ended without any kind of opposition or even of debate) "These are the doings of Mr. Pitt, and they wondrous in our eyes!"

To genius irregularity is incident, and greatest genius is often marked by eccentricity, if it disdained to move in the vulgar orbit. He who is fitted by his nature, and trained by habits, to be an accomplished "pilot in extremities" and whose inclinations carry him forth "to the deep when the waves run high," may be found not "to steer too near the shore," yet to despise sunken rocks which they that can only be true in calm weather would have more surely avoid

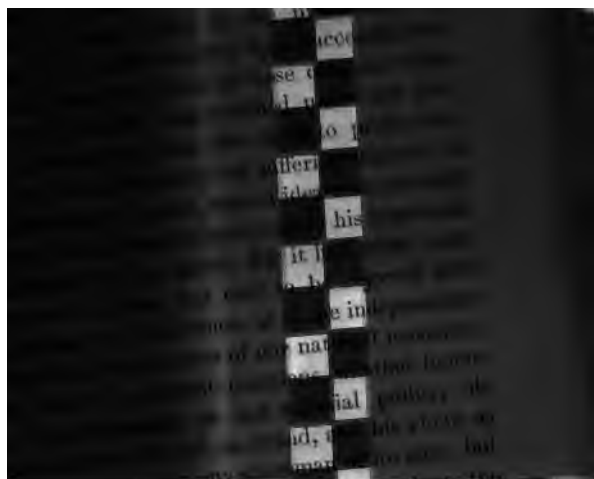
to this rule it cannot be said that Lord Chatham afforded any exception; and although a plot had certainly been formed to eject him from the Ministry, leaving the chief control of affairs in the feeble hands of Lord Bute, whose only support was court favour, and whose chief talent lay in an expertness in intrigues, yet there can be little doubt that this scheme was only rendered practicable by the hostility which the great Minister's unbending habits, his contempt of ordinary men, and his neglect of every-day matters, had raised against him among all the creatures both of Downing-street and St. James's. In fact, his colleagues, who necessarily felt humbled by his superiority, were needlessly mortified by the constant display of it; and it would have betokened a still higher reach of understanding, as well as a purer fabric of patriotism, if he, whose great capacity threw those subordinates into the shade, and before whose vigour in action they were sufficiently willing to yield, had united a little suavity in his demeanour with his extraordinary powers, nor made it always necessary for them to acknowledge as well as to feel their inferiority. It is certain that the insulting arrangement of the Admiralty, to which reference has been already made, while it lowered that department in the public opinion, rendered all connected with it his personal enemies; and, indeed, though there have since his days been Prime

Ministers whom he would never have sit even as puisne lords at his boards, yet like himself again to govern the country miralty chief, who might be far inferior. Anson, would never submit to the humiliated upon that gallant and skilful captain. Pitt's policy seemed formed upon the that either each public functionary, to himself in boldness, activity, and re that he was to preside over and animate partment in person. Such was his confidence in his own powers, that he reversed the governing, never to force your way when win it; and always disdained to insinuate could dash in, or to persuade where he command. It thus happened that his colleagues but nominally coadjutors, and though not thwart him, yet rendered no heart-aid his schemes. Indeed it has clearly since his time that they were chiefly to yield him implicit obedience, and leave undivided direction of all operations in his the expectation that the failure of what went to sneer at as "Mr. Pitt's vision" turn the tide of public opinion against prepare his downfall from a height of which he felt that there was no one but himself to possess him.

The true test of a great man—that at a

secure his
 men—is his having in
 This it is which de or
 ried forward the g hu i
 ment; has conform d his at ted
 adact to the existing circ of soc
 igned those so as to better its o i has
 me of the lights of the world, or only re-
 l the borrowed rays of former luminaria,
 t in the same shade with the rest of his gene-
 at the same twilight or the same dawn.
 by this test, the younger Pitt cannot cer-
 be said to have lived before his time, or
 upon the age to which he belonged the
 nation of a more advanced civilisation and
 inspired philosophy. He came far too early
 ublic life, and was too suddenly plunged into
 ol of office, to give him time for the study
 he reflection which can alone open to any
 how vigorous soever may be its natural
 tution, the views of a deep and original wis-
 Accordingly it would be difficult to glean,
 all his measures and all his speeches, anything
 e fruits of inventive genius; or to mark any
 of his mind having gone before the very
 ary routine of the day, as if familiar with any
 that did not pass through the most vulgar
 standings. His father's intellect was of a
 r order; he had evidently, though without

much education, and with no science of a yet reflected deeply upon the principles of action, well studied the nature of men, and pondered upon the structure of society. His remarks frequently teem with the fruits of such meditation to which his constantly feeble health permitted to rise rather than any natural proneness to a contemplative life, from whence his taste must have been alien; for he was eminently a man of action. His appeals to the feelings and passions were the result of the same reflective habits, and the sympathy with the human heart which they bore to him. But if we consider his opinions, though often unenlightened upon every particular, they rather may be regarded as felicitous for his adaptation to the actual circumstances in which he was called upon to advise or to act, than as indicating that he had seen very far into future and anticipated the philosophy which future experience should teach to our more advanced world. To take two examples from subjects upon which he had both thought most, and been the most strenuously engaged in handling practically as a statesman,—our relations with France and with America:—The narrow notions of natural enmity with the natural sovereignty over the other, were the basis of his whole opinions and conduct in the arguments. To cultivate the relations



of modern times, of which so little that can be on as authentic has been preserved ; unless perhaps that of Pericles, Julius Cæsar, and Lord Bolingbroke. Of the actions of the two first we have sufficient records, as we have of Lord Chatham of their speeches we have little that can be regarded as genuine ; although, by unquestionable tradition we know that each of them was second only to the greatest orator of their respective countries. While of Bolingbroke we only know, from Swift, that he was the most accomplished speaker of his time ; and it is related of Mr. Pitt (younger), that when the conversation rolled on lost works, and some said they should prefer restoring the books of Livy, some of Tacitus, or some a Latin tragedy, he at once decided in favour of the speech of Bolingbroke. What we know of our own father's oratory is much more to be gathered from contemporary panegyrics, and accounts of its effects, than from the scanty, and for the most part doubtful, remains which have reached us.

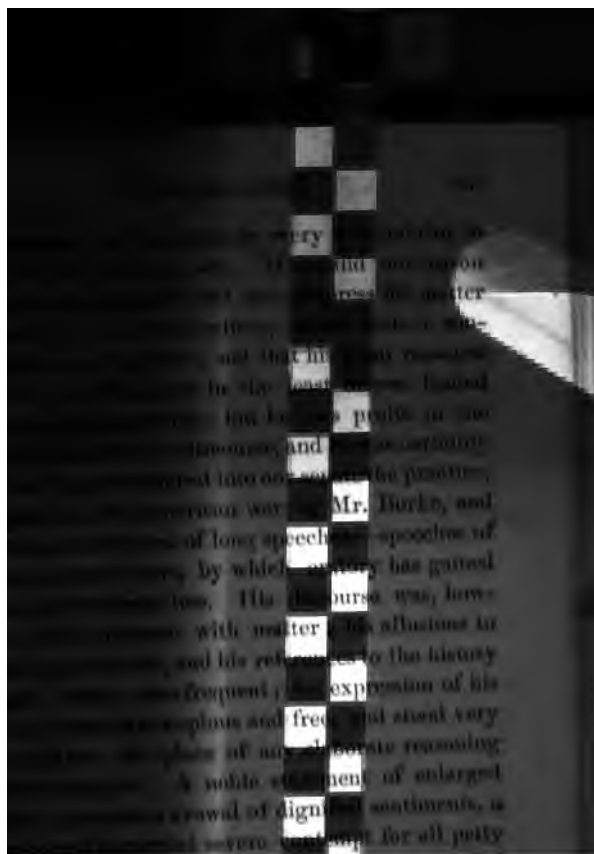
All accounts, however, concur in representing those effects to have been prodigious. The power and vehemence which animated its greater passages

* Thucydides gives three speeches of Pericles, which may very possibly have in great part composed the first. Sallust's speech of Cæsar is manifestly the writer's own composition ; indeed it is in the exact style of the speech he puts into Cato's mouth, that is, in his own style.



nothing but a most striking and commanding talent which could have made it possible to attempt, and which exceeded belief. Some of these sallies are indeed examples of that approach made to the ludicrous by the sublime, which has been charged upon Lord Erskine as a prevailing fault, and represented under the name of *Charlatanerie*,—a favourite phrase with his adversaries, as in later times it has been with the ignorant undervaluers of Lord Erskine. It is related that once in the House of Commons, when he began a speech with the words “Sugar, I mean, Speaker,”—and then, observing a smile to pervade the audience, he paused, looked fiercely around him, and with a loud voice, rising in its notes and swelling into vehement anger, he is said to have pronounced again the word “Sugar!” three times, and having thus quelled the house, and extinguished every appearance of levity or laughter, turned round and disdainfully asked, “Who will laugh at sugar now?” We have the anecdote upon good traditional authority; that it was believed by those who had the best means of knowing Lord Erskine is certain; and this of itself shows their sense of the extraordinary powers of his manner, and the reach of his audacity in trusting to those powers.

There can be no doubt that of reasoning,—sustained and close argument,—his speeches had but little. His statements were desultory, though striking, perhaps not very distinct, certainly not



...every ...
...and ...
...the matter
...and that his ...
...in the ...
...and ...
...into one ...
...Mr. Burke, and
...of long speech ...
...by which ...
...loss. His discourse was, how-
...with matter, his allusions to
...and his references to the history
...frequent; the expression of his
...and free, and stood very
...of his ...
...A noble sentiment of enlarged
...of dignified sentiments, is
...for all petty

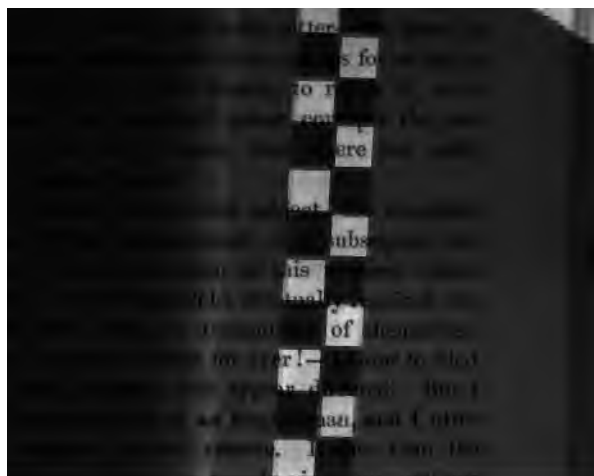
although he was a less eminent master of sarcasm than his son, and rather overwhelmed his antagonist with the burst of words and vehement indignation, than wounded him by the edge of ridicule or tortured him with the gall of bitter scorn, fixed his arrow in the wound by the barb of epigram. These things seemed, as it were, to betoken too much labour and too much art—more labour than was consistent with absolute scorn—more than could stand with heart-felt rage, or entire contempt inspired by the occasion, at the moment and on the spot. But his great passages, those which he has come down to us, those which gave his eloquence its peculiar character, and to which its dazzling success was owing, were as sudden and unexpected as they were natural. Every one was taken by surprise when they rolled forth—every one felt them to be so natural, that he could hardly understand why he had not thought of them himself, although into no one's imagination had they ever entered. If the quality of being natural without being obvious is a pretty correct description of felicitous expression, or what is called fine writing, it is a yet more accurate representation of fine passages, or felicitous *hits* in speaking. In these all popular assemblies take boundless delight by these above all others are the minds of an audience at pleasure moved or controlled. This forms the grand charm of Lord Chatham's orator



smile, very courteous, but not very respectful, said—"Confide in you? Oh no—you must pardon me, gentlemen—*youth* is the season of credulity; confidence is a plant of slow growth in an ag-bosom!"

Some one, having spoken of "the obstinacy America," said "that she was almost in open rebellion." Mr. Pitt exclaimed, "I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty as voluntarily to let themselves be made slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest!" Then speaking of the attempt to keep her down "In a just cause of quarrel you may crush America to atoms; but in this crying injustice" (*Star Act*)—"I am one who will lift up my hands against it—In such a cause even your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her. Is this your boasted peace—to sheathe the sword, not in its scabbard, but in the bowels of your countrymen?"—It was in this debate that Mr. Burke first spoke, and Mr. Pitt praised his speech in very flattering terms.

"Those iron barons (for so I may call them when compared with the silken barons of modern days) were the guardians of the people; and the words of their barbarous Latin, *nullus liber homo*



of their advisers, and been better read in the "I itself, the glorious Revolution might have remained only possible in theory, and their fate would now have stood upon record, a formidable example to all their successors."—"No man more than respects the just authority of the House of Commons—no man would go farther to defend it, beyond the line of the Constitution, like every exercise of arbitrary power, it becomes illegal, threatening tyranny to the people, destruction to state. Power without right is the most detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination; it is not only pernicious to those whom subjects, but works its own destruction. *Res testabilis et caduca*. Under pretence of declaring law, the Commons have made a law, a law for their own case, and have united in the same persons offices of legislator and party and judge."

These fine passages, conveying sentiments so noble and so wise, may be read with advantage by present House of Commons when it shall again be called on to resist the Judges of the land, and break its laws, by opening a shop for the sale of libels.

His character—drawn, he says, from long experience—of the Spaniards, the high-minded courageous Castilians, we believe to be as just as is severe. Speaking of the affair of Falkland's Island he said—"They are as mean and crafty as they

and proud. I never yet met with an incandour or dignity in their proceedings; but low cunning, artifice, and trick. I called to talk to them in a peremptory

I submitted my advice for an immediate to a trembling council. You all know the consequences of its being rejected."—The man on the throne had stated that the Spanish minister had disowned the act of its officers. Chatham said—"There never was a more infamous falsehood imposed on a nation. It degrades the King, it insults the nation. His Majesty has been advised to an absolute falsehood. My Lords, I beg pardon, and I hope I shall be understood to repeat, that it is an absolute, a palpable

The King of Spain disowns the thief, leaves him unpunished, and profits by his crime. In vulgar English, he is the receiver of stolen goods, and should be treated accordingly." Would all the country, at least all the canting part of it, resound with the cry of "Coarse! brutal!" if such epithets and such comparisons were used in any debate now-a-days among the "silken barons," or the House of Commons of our time!

When he made a most brilliant speech on the speaking of General Gage's inactivity, he could not be blamed; it was inevitable.

"But what a miserable condition," he exclaimed, "is ours, where disgrace is prudence, and what is necessary to be contemptible! You must repeal these acts," (he said, alluding to the Boston and Massachusetts Bay Bills,) "and you will repeal them. I pledge myself for it, that you will repeal them. I stake my reputation on it. I consent to be taken for an idiot if they are finally repealed." Every one knows how true this prophecy proved. The concluding sentence of this speech has been often cited,—“If the ministers persevere in misleading the King, I will not say that they can alienate the affections of his subjects from his crown; but I will affirm that they will make the crown not worth his wearing. I will not say that the King is betrayed; but I will pronounce that the kingdom is undone.”

Again, in 1777, after describing the cause of the war and “the traffic and barter driven with a little pitiful German Prince that sells his subjects to the shambles of a foreign country,” he said, “The mercenary aid on which you rely irritates an incurable resentment the minds of your enemies whom you overrun with the sordid sons of rapine and of plunder, devoting them and their possessions to the rapacity of hireling cruelty! If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms, never! never! never!” Such

ge, used in the modern days of ultra loyalty extreme decorum, would call down upon his head who employed it the charge of encouraging vice, and partaking as an accomplice in their crimes.

It was upon this memorable occasion that he made the famous reply to Lord Suffolk, who had, in reference to employing the Indians, that they were justified in using all the means which God and nature had put into our hands." The circumstance of Lord Chatham having himself read this speech is an inducement to insert it here in length.

"I am astonished," exclaimed Lord Chatham, as he rose, to hear such principles confessed, to hear them avowed in this House or in this country; principles equally constitutional, inhuman, and unchristian.

My Lords, I did not intend to have trespassed again on your attention, but I cannot repress my indignation. I feel myself impelled by every duty. My Lords, we are called upon, as members of this House, as men, as Christian men, to protest against such notions, standing near the throne, striking the ear of majesty. *That God and nature put into our hands!*—I know not what idea that Lord may entertain of God and nature, but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. Do not attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife, to the cannibalism, to torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating; literally, My Lords, eating the mangled victims of his barbarous rage! Such horrible notions shock every precept of religion, divine and natural, and every generous feeling of humanity; and, my Lords, they shock every sentiment of

honour; they shock me as a lover of honourable war, and detester of murderous barbarity.

"These abominable principles, and this more abominable avowal of them, demand most decisive indignation. I appeal to that Right Reverend Bench, those holy ministers of the Gospel, and pious pastors of the Church: I conjure them to join in the holy work, and to vindicate the religion of their God. I appeal to the wisdom and the law of the Learned Bench, to defend and support the justice of the country. I call upon the Bishops to interpose the unsullied sanctity of their lawn, upon the learned Judges to interpose the purity of their ermine, to save us from this pollution. I call upon the honour of your Lordships to reverence the dignity of your ancestors, and to maintain your own. I call upon the spirit and humanity of my country to vindicate the national character. I invoke the genius of the constitution. From the tapestry that adorns these walls, the immortal ancestor of this noble Lord frowns with indignation at this DISGRACE OF HIS COUNTRY! In vain he led your victorious fleets against the boasted Armada of Spain; in vain he defended and established the honour, the liberties, the religion of the Protestant religion of his country, against the arbitrary cruelties of Popery and the Inquisition, if these more detestable Popish cruelties and inquisitorial practices are let loose amongst us, to turn forth into our settlements, among our ancient connexions, friends, and relations, the merciless cannibal, thirsting for the blood of man, woman, and child—to send forth the infidel savage—against whom? Against your Protestant brethren: to lay waste their country, desolate their dwellings, and extirpate their race and us with these horrible hell-hounds of savage war—*hell-hounds*. I say, of savage war. Spain armed herself with bloody hounds to extirpate the wretched natives of America, and we improve on the inhuman example of even Spanish cruelty: we turn loose these savage hell-hounds against our brethren and countrymen in America, of the same language, laws, liberties, and religion, endeared to us by every

said sancti / Lords, this awful sub-
important to our hon n, and our
demands the most solemn and inquiry;
gain call upon your Lordships, and united powers
state, to examine it thoroughly and decisively, and to
upon it an indelible stigma of the public abhorrence.
again implore those holy Prelates of our religion to
y these iniquities from among us; let them perform
tion—let them purify this House and this country
its sin.

Lords, I am old and weak, and at present unable to
see; but my feelings and my indignation were too
to have said less. I could not have slept this night
bed, or have reposed my head on my pillow, without
this vent to my eternal abhorrence of such prepos-
and enormous principles.”*

we are other celebrated passages of his speeches
men’s mouths. His indignant and contemp-
answer to the minister’s boast of driving the
icans before the army—“I might as well
of driving them before me with this crutch!”
vell known. Perhaps the finest of them all is
lusion to the maxim of English law, that every
house is his castle. “The poorest man may
s cottage bid defiance to all the forces of the
n. It may be frail—its roof may shake—the
may blow through it—the storm may enter—
sin may enter—but the King of England can-

here hangs so much doubt upon the charge brought
at Lord Chatham, of having himself employed the
as in the former war, that the subject is reserved for
ppendix.

not enter!—all his force dares not cross threshold of the ruined tenement!"

These examples may serve to convey a pretty accurate idea of the peculiar vein of eloquence which distinguished this great man's speeches. It was of the very highest order; vehement, fiery, close to the subject, concise, sometimes eminently, and boldly figurative; it was original and surprising yet quite natural. To call it argumentative would be an abuse of terms; but it had always a sufficient foundation of reason to avoid any appearance of inconsistency, or error, or wandering from the point. So the greatest passages in the Greek orations were very far from being such as could stand the test of close examination in regard to their argument. It would it be hypercritical indeed to object that Demosthenes, in the most celebrated burst of all ancient eloquence, argues for his policy being unopposed although it led to defeat, by citing as an example of public honours having been bestowed upon those who fell in gaining five great victories.

Some have compared Mr. Fox's eloquence to that of Demosthenes; but it resembled Lord Chatham just as much, if not more. It was incomparably more argumentative than either the Greek or English orator's; neither of whom carried on chains of close reasoning as he did, though both kept close to their subject. It was, however, exceedingly the reverse of the Attic orator's in method, in dicti-

It is certain that the manner of any kind. Excess in the passion, its diction was as slow, y, certainly as careless as possible, but indeed a contempt of all accuracy. It was diffuse in the highest degree and abounded in repetitions. While the Greek was almost to being simple, the Englishman was diffused, almost to being verbose. How the notion of comparing the two together ever could have presented itself, unless it be that men supposed them alike because they were both verbose, and both kept the subject in view rather than after ornament. But that the most elaborate artificial compositions in the world should have been likened to the most careless, and natural, and unprepared, that were ever delivered in public, would seem wholly incredible if it were not true. The bursts of Mr. Fox, however, though less tersely and concisely composed, certainly have some resemblance to Lord Chatham's, only that they betray far less fancy, and, however vehement and fiery, are incomparably less bold. Mr. Pitt's oratory, though admirably suited to its purpose, and as perfect a business kind of speaking as ever was heard, certainly resembled none of the three others who have been named. In point of genius, unless perhaps for sarcasm, he was greatly their inferior; although, from the unbroken fluency of his appropriate language, and the power

of an eminently sonorous voice, he produced the most prodigious effect.

It remains to speak of Lord Chatham as a private man, and he appears to have been in all respects exemplary and amiable. His disposition was exceedingly affectionate. The pride, bordering upon insolence, in which he showed himself encased to the world, fell naturally from him, and without any effort to put it off, as he crossed the threshold of his own door. To all his family he was simple, kindly, and gentle. His pursuits were of a nature that showed how much he loved to unbend himself. He delighted in poetry and other light reading; was fond of music; loved the country; took peculiar pleasure in gardening; and had even an extremely happy taste in laying out grounds. His early education appears to have been further prosecuted afterwards; and he was familiar with the Latin classics, although there is no reason to believe that he had much acquaintance with the Greek. In all our own classical writers he was well versed; and his time was much given to reading them. A correspondence with his nephew, which Lord Grenville published about forty years ago, showed how simple and classical his tastes were, how affectionate his feelings, and how strong his sense of both moral and religious duty. These letters are reprinted in a work which has been published since the first edition of this

because the answers have since been re-
; and it contains a great body of other let-
h to and from him. Amongst the latter
e found constant tokens of his amiable dis-

most severe judge of human actions, the
ose searching eye looks for defects in every
, and regards it as fiction, not a likeness,
; fails to find any, will naturally ask if such
cter as Lord Chatham's could be without
; if feelings so strong never boiled over in
ussions which are dangerous to virtue; if
of soul such as his could be at all times
thin the bounds which separate the adjoin-
vinces of vehemence and intemperance?
l he find reason to doubt the reality of the
which he is scrutinising when we have
the traits that undeniably disfigured it.
e have already thrown in; but they rather
des that give effect and relief to the rest,
ormities or defects. It must now be fur-
orded that not only was he impracticable,
beyond all men to act with, overbearing,
usly insisting upon his own views being
by all as infallible, utterly regardless of
en's opinions when he had formed his own,
disposed to profit by the lights of their wis-
to avail himself of their co-operative efforts
—all this is merely the excess of his great

STATESMEN OF TIME OF GEORGE III.

ilities running loose uncontrolled—but he appears to have been very far from sustaining the exalted pitch of magnanimous independence and utter disregard of sublunary interests which we should expect him to have reached and kept as a matter of course, from a more cursory glance at the mould in which his lofty character was cast. Without allowing considerable admixture of the clay which forms earthly mortals to have entered into his composition, how can we account for the violence of his feelings, when George III. showed him some small signs of kindness in the closet, upon his giving up the seals of office? “I confess, Sir, I had but too much reason to expect your Majesty’s displeasure. I had not come prepared for this exceeding goodness. Pardon me, Sir,” passionately exclaimed, “it overpowers—it oppresses me!” and he burst into tears in the presence of one who, as a moment’s reflection might have convinced him, was playing a part to undermine his character, destroy his influence, and teract all his great designs for his country’s benefit. But some misplaced sentiments of loyalty and colour assumed by his gratitude for favours conferred upon his family and himself was of vulgar hue, and still less harmonised with the Great Commoner’s exalted nature. On learning the King’s intention to grant him a pension

to undo him), he writes to Lord Bute a
 of the most humiliating effusions of ex-
 thankfulness — speaks of “being con-
 th the King’s condescension in deigning
 me thought on the mode of extending to
 ral beneficence,” — considers “any mark
 tion flowing from such a spontaneous
 clemency as his comfort and his glory,”
 trates himself in the very dust for daring
 e kind of provision tendered “by the
 manner so infinitely gracious,” — and
 instead of it, a pension for his family.
 prayer was granted, the effusions of gra-
 r these unbounded effects of beneficence
 which the most benign of sovereigns has
 ed to bestow,” are still more extrava-
 “he dares to hope that the same royal
 e which showers on the unmeritorious
 ited benefits may deign to accept the
 ibute of the truly feeling heart with
 escension and goodness.” It is painful
 t truth extorts, that this is really not the
 and the language with which a patriot
 sovereign’s councils upon a broad differ-
 nest opinion, and after being personally
 that monarch’s favourites; but the tone
 and even the style of diction, in which a
 felon, having sued for mercy, returns
 n his life has been spared. The pain of

defacing any portion of so noble a portrait as Lord Chatham's must not prevent us from marking the traits of a somewhat vulgar, if not a sordid, kind which are to be found on a closer inspection of the original.

Such was the man whom George III. most feared, most hated, and most exerted his kingcraft to disarm; and such, unhappily, was his momentary success in this long-headed enterprise against the liberties of his people and their champions; for Lord Chatham's popularity, struck down by his pension, was afterwards annihilated by his peerage.

LORD NORTH.

This minister whom George III. most loved was,
 as has been already said, Lord North, and this
 extraordinary favour lasted until the period of the
 Revolution. It is no doubt a commonly-received
 notion, and was at one time an article of belief
 among the popular party, that Lord Bute con-
 tinued his secret adviser after the termination of
 his short administration; but this is wholly with-
 out foundation. The King never had any kind of
 communication with him, directly or indirectly;
 nor did he ever see him but once, and the history
 of that occurrence suddenly puts the greater part
 of the stories to flight which are current upon this
 subject. His aunt, the Princess Amelia, had
 some plan of again bringing the two parties to-
 gether, and on a day when George III. was to pay
 her a visit at her villa of Gunnersbury, near
 Brentford, she invited Lord Bute, whom she prob-
 ably had never informed of her foolish intentions.
 He was walking in the garden when she took her
 nephew down stairs to view it, saying there was
 no one there but an old friend of his, whom he had

not seen for some years. He had not time to enquire who it might be, when, on entering the garden, he saw his former minister walking up an alley. The King instantly turned back to avoid him, reproved the silly old woman sharply, and declared that if ever she repeated such experiments, she had sold him for the last time in her house. The assertion that the common reports are utterly void of foundation, and that no communication whatever of any kind or upon any matter, public or private, ever took place between the parties, we make up from the most positive information, proceeding directly both from George III. and from Lord Bute. If we go farther: the story is contrary to all probability; for that Prince, as well as others of his family, more than suspected the intimacy between his old governor and his royal mother, and, according to the nature of princes of either sex, he never forgave it. The likelihood is, that it came to his knowledge after the period of his illness, and the Regency Bill which he, in consequence of that circumstance, proposed to parliament; for it is well known that he then had much regard for the Dowager Princess as to her parting out George Grenville because he passed her off as Regent. Consequently, the discovery which we are supposing him to have made must have been some time after Lord Bute's ministry closed. Certain it is that the feeling towards him had

some reason or other, not neutral, negative; but such as 'rules men, and still rules, when favour is succeeded by dislike; say then say what was so wittily observed of Louis XV. on a very different occasion 'y a rien de petit chez les grands.' His attendance with his other ministers, to which he had access, speaks the same language; marked prejudice is constantly betrayed in catchmen and Scotch politics.

Origin of Lord North's extraordinary favour at once consenting to take the office of minister when the Duke of Grafton, in a moment of considerable public difficulty and eminent, of what, in those easy days of fair weather was called danger, suddenly threw up the office and retired to his diversions and his mistress's market. Lord North was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and leader of the House of Commons. He had thus already the most arduous of the government duties cast upon him; submitting to bear also the nominal functions of the royal patronage and power of the First Lord of the Treasury seemed but a slender effort of courage or self-devotion. As such, however, he considered it; nor during the disastrous and difficult times which his own obstinate and strong tyrannical propensities brought upon the country, did he ever cease to feel and to

estify the lively sense he always felt of the obligation under which Lord North had laid him personally, by coming to his assistance upon that emergency. In fact, responsibility, which, to almost all official personages, proves the greatest trial, is the most heavily felt, and the most willingly shunned, presses with peculiar weight upon the great public functionary who by law is wholly exempt from it, and in practice never can know it, unless during the interval between one ministry and another. The less he is in general accustomed to this burthen, the more hard does he find it to bear when he has no minister to cast it upon. Accordingly kings are peculiarly helpless any event has, as they term it, "left them without a government." The relief is proportional great which they experience when any one, at such an interregnum in times of difficulty, "consents to stand by them." This Lord North did for George III. in 1772; and his conduct never was forgotten by that Prince. Indeed gratitude and personal affection is very remarkable which he showed ever after; at least till the Coalition on which so many political reputations were shipwrecked, and so total a loss was to both court and popular favour; and it followed of the not very numerous amiable traits in

striking instance has already been given of this monarch.

He acknowledged that he was singularly the minister whom he thus obtained, in the change which he made. The Craftsman, though a man endowed with able qualities for his high station, remarkable for a liberality on ecclesiastical matters, and of a rank, and any one thing rather than ever painted by the persevering malice and calumnies of Junius, who made him the duke of Bedford, together with Lord North the choice objects of his unsparing and abuse, was nevertheless of no great estate, and of habits which the aristocracy of those days had little fitted to meet the claims of official duty upon a statesman's attention. The industry of professional life, too, being counteracted by no brilliant achievements, had concurred with the dissensions yet lately showing themselves in the color of his reputation in the country, and the task of government such as he plainly

and, thus abandoned, fell into the hands of Junius, then in the vigour of his faculties, in the disadvantageously known to the country, and the undoubted favourite with the House, which

for some time he had led. His success there was very considerable. Few men in any station have indeed, left behind them a higher reputation as debater, and above all, as the representative of the government. We now speak of his fame after his accession to the chief command in the public councils, as well as the warfare of parliament, he consolidated his authority, exhibited his debating powers, and multiplied his victories. It was his lot to maintain the conflict in times of unprecedented difficulty, and against antagonists such as no minister ever had to meet, if we except Mr Addington, who was speedily overthrown in the rencounter. The resistance of our whole American empire had ended in a general rebellion, and the military prowess failed to quell it, as all the political measures of the government had failed to prevent it, or rather had ripened discontent into revolt. A series of political disappointments first and then of military disasters, had made our American affairs hopeless, when the war extended itself to Europe, and our hitherto invincible navy could not prevent the English coasts and even harbours from being insulted, while our West India islands were ravaged, and our trade in those seas was swept away by the enemy's marine. Nor had the nation the accustomed consolation, and government the usual topic of defence, that our disasters befell us through the proverbially fickle fortune of war.

be changed into elements. Every one could be traced to the perverse course of policy and injustice combined, in which the great revolt took its rise. The Americans, unprepared for resistance, and unwilling to risk it, were driven on by the tyrannical bigotry which reigned over our councils, and for which the King was really answerable, although by the fictions of the constitution his servants only could be blamed. It was to this, that the opposition was led first by Burke, and afterwards by Mr. Fox, both in proof of their extraordinary faculties, ranking with their zealous adherents such men as Barré, Paine, Lee, supported by the whole phalanx of the high aristocracy, and backed always by the enormous weight of Lord Chatham's authority; and finally by the exertions of his splendid eloquence, burning brighter than ever as it approached the hour of its extinction. The voice of the opposition, at first raised against the colonies, soon became loud against the government; and each year and each disaster made the storm of public opinion rage more and more violently. Even in point of numbers the parliamentary forces were unequally matched as we have seen them in subsequent seasons of warlike discomfiture; while Mr. Pitt has had majorities of three or two to one in his support, under all the failures of his continental projects, Lord North was frequently

reduced to fight with majorities so scanty as rather resembled the more recent balance of parliamentary power, than the ordinary workings of our constitution.

Such was the strife, and in such untoward circumstances, which Lord North had to maintain with the help only of his attorney and solicitor generals, Thurlow and Wedderburn, to whom was afterwards added Dundas. But a weight far more than sufficient to counterbalance this accession was about the same time flung into the opposite scale and rendered its preponderance still more decided. Mr. Pitt signalized his entrance into Parliament by the most extraordinary eloquence, at once matured and nearly perfect in its kind, and by lending all its aid and all its ornament to the opposition. Nothing daunted, the veteran minister persevered in maintaining the conflict, and was only driven from the helm after he had fought triumphantly for six years against the greater part of the Whig chiefs, and desperately for two more against the whole of the body thus powerfully reinforced.

All contemporary reports agree in representing his talents as having shone with a great and steady lustre during this singularly trying period. Without any pretensions to fill the higher ranks of eloquence, with no accomplishments of learning beyond the scholarship which a well-educated

man gain at Oxford, with political information such as the historical reading of well-d men could give, he displayed so thorough maintenance with official and Parliamentary as easily supplied all defects in those days of political acquirement, while his clear expression, which never failed him and constantly in the victory over of more brilliant his natural tact, still further improved by and deep knowledge of his ready ; his cool determination — would also have made him a most able debater, independent of those peculiarities in his nature, and indeed all his family, excepted most men—qualities of superior virtue in any of either house of Parliament, but in him holds the first place, of most sovereign efficacy in winning and rallying his followers, and in commanding the audience at large—a wit that never failed him, and a suavity of temper that could not be ruffled. Combating his powerful adversaries at such a disadvantage as he, for the most part, was compelled to work up against, from the unbroken series of failures which he was to defend or extenuate, his tactics were admired as well as his gallantry. Nothing in this way ever showed both skill and more than his unexpectedly granting a commission for inquiring into the State of the Nation,

supposed in parliamentary procedure to be a vote of distrust in the Ministry; for when, to a long and powerful speech introducing that proposition he contented himself with making an able and complete reply, and then suddenly professed his full readiness to meet the question in detail, by going at once into the committee, the enemy were taken altogether unprepared, and the whole affair evaporated in smoke.

To give examples of his unbroken good-humour as enviable as it was amiable, and perhaps still more useful than either, would be to relate the history of almost each night's debate during the American war. The rage of party never was carried to greater excess, nor ever more degenerated into mere personal violence. Constant threats of impeachment, fierce attacks upon himself and his connexions, mingled execration of his measures and scorn of his capacity, bitter hatred of his person—the elaborate, and dazzling, and learned fancy of Burke, the unbridled licence of invective in which the young blood of Fox nightly boiled over, the epigrams of Barrè, the close reasoning and legal subtlety of Dunning, the broad humour and argumentative sarcasm of Lee—were, without intermission, exhausted upon the minister, and seemed to have no effect upon his habitually placid deportment, nor to consume his endless patience while they wearied out his implacable antagonist.

lain homely answer he could blunt the edge fiercest declamation or most refined sarcasm ; in pleasantry, never far-fetched, nor ever me, or misplaced, or forced, he could turn wrath and refresh the jaded listeners, while, undisturbed temper, he made them believe the advantage, and could turn into a laugh, assailant's expense, the invective which had estined to crush himself. On one or two ns, not many, the correspondence of con-ary writers makes mention of his serenity been ruffled, as a proof to what excesses of e the opposition had been carried, but also ocurrence almost out of the ordinary course ure. And, truly, of those excesses there no other instance be cited than Mr. Fox de-; with much emphasis, his opinion of the r to be such that he should deem it unsafe lone with him in a room.

if it would be endless to recount the bs of his temper, it would be equally so and re difficult to record those of his wit. It s to have been of a kind peculiarly charac- and eminently natural ; playing easily and t the least effort ; perfectly suited to his nature, by being what Clarendon says of s II., " a pleasant, affable, recommending wit ;" wholly unpretending ; so exquisitely to the occasion that it never failed of effect,

yet so readily produced and so entirely unambitious that although it had occurred to nobody before every one wondered it had not suggested itself to all. A few only of his sayings have reached us, and these, as might be expected, are rather things which he had chanced to coat over with some sarcasm or epigram that tended to preserve them; they consequently are far from giving an idea of his habitual pleasantry and the gaiety of thought which generally pervaded his speeches. Thus when a vehement declaimer, calling aloud for his head, turned round and perceived his victim unconsciously indulging in a soft slumber, and, becoming still more exasperated, denounced the Minister as capable of sleeping while he ruined his country—the latter only complained how cruel it was to be denied a solace which other criminals so often enjoyed, that of having a night's rest before their fate. When surprised in a like indulgence during the performance of a very inferior artist, who, however, showed equal indignation at so ill-timed a recreation, he contented himself with observing how hard it was that he should be grudged so very natural a release from considerable suffering; but, as if recollecting himself, added that it was somewhat unjust in the gentleman to complain of him for taking the remedy which he had himself been considerate enough to administer. The same good-humour and drollery quitted him

in opinion. I have heard of
 each which, if it had been intended to injure the
 of its attack, was very different in affixing
 upon its honest and high character the author.
 Martin's proposal to elect a liberal member
 the chair and taught to cry of
 ous coalition!" Lord North coolly sug-
 that, as long as the worthy member was
 ed to them, it would be a needless waste of
 ublic money, since the starling might well
 his office by deputy. That in society
 nan must have been the most delightful of
 ions may well be supposed. In his family,
 all his private intercourse as in his personal
 er, he was known to be in every respect
 ; of scrupulous integrity and unsullied

statesman, his merits are confessedly far
 to those which clothed him as a debater and
 in. The American war is the great blot
 s fame; for his share in the Coalition was
 ceptionable on account of the bitterness with
 his adversaries had so long pursued him;
 they could submit to the fellowship of one
 whom they had heaped such unmeasured
 hey seemed to recant, or even to confess that
 nions which they had previously professed
 they had not really entertained. That ill-
 easure of the Whigs seemed to be rather a

tribute of tardy justice to their great adversary it was not for him either to reject it or to stigmatize the motives from which it was paid. His policy towards our colonies, of which he had been the leading advocate in Parliament, and for which he was primarily responsible as minister, can afford no defence; nor in his position, and upon so momentous a question, is it possible to urge, in extenuation of his offending, that he was all along aware of the King's egregious folly, and yet obstinately persisted in a hopeless and ruinous struggle against the liberties of his people. If this, however, was the fact, there exists no doubt; he was long resolved to quit the helm, because George III. insisted on a wrong course to be steered—that helm which he ought to have quitted as soon as his mind was made up to differ with the owner of the vessel, unless he were permitted to follow his own course; and he was only kept in the post by constant entreaties, by monthly expostulations, by the most vehement protestations of a misguided Prince against a proceeding which would leave him helpless in the hands of his implacable enemies, and even by promises always renewed, that if he would let him go he but remain for a few weeks until some other arrangement could be made. It is fit that this certain and important fact should be stated; and we have before us the proofs of it in the hand of the Royal Suitor to his reluctant

and favour, whose apparently fixed retirement he uses all these expedients at least to obstruct and retard, if he ate. This importunity working upon of a well-natured person like Lord it easily be expected to produce its et; and the unavoidable difficulty of in a post which, while he held it, had of peril as well as embarrassment, reased the difficulty of abandoning it nger lasted.

gh we may thus explain, we are not abled to excuse the minister's conduct. und that he could no longer approve hich he was required to pursue, and of end, he was bound to quit the councils ate and unreasonable Sovereign. Nor e a worse service, either to the Prince y, than enabling a Monarch to rule in on, dictating the commands of his own caprice, through servants who dis- is measures, and yet suffer themselves nstruments for carrying them into exe- ad King can desire nothing more than by such persons, whose opinions he a disregard as their inclinations, but ill always find his tools in doing the chief, because they become the more at h's mercy in proportion as they have

surrendered their principles and their will to Far, then, very far from vindicating the conduct of Lord North in this essential point, we hesitate not to affirm that the discrepancy between his sentiments and his measures is not even any extenuation of the disastrous policy which gave us, for fruits of a long and disastrous war, the dismemberment of the empire. In truth, what others might have been regarded as an error of judgment became an offence, only palliated by considering those kindly feelings of a personal kind which governed him, but which every statesman, and every one who acts in any capacity as trustee for others, is imperatively called upon to disregard.

While, however, truth requires this statement, justice equally demands that, in thus denouncing an offence, we should mark how very far it is from being a solitary case of political misconduct. Upon how many other great occasions have other ministers sacrificed their principles, not to the generous wish that the King might not be disturbed, but to the more sordid apprehension that their government might be broken up, and their adversaries displace them, if they manfully acted up to their well known and oftentimes recorded opinions. How many of those who, but for this unwelcome retrospect into their own lives, which are thus forcing upon them, would be the very first to pronounce a pharisaical condemnation on Lord North.

adopted the views of their opponents, rather
 held them up their places by courageously
 persistently pursuing the course prescribed by
 reason? Let us be just to both parties: but
 the conductor of the American war, by
 to mind the similar delinquency of some
 who succeeded to his power, with capacity of
 order than his, and of some who resembled
 him in their elevation to high office, without
 means to sustain it or to adorn. The subject,
 is a deeper and more general interest than
 that of dispensing justice among individuals;
 it is the very worst offence of which a mi-
 nister can be guilty—the abandonment of his own
 principles for place, and counselling his Sovereign
 and country, not according to his conscience,
 but according to what, being most palatable to
 him, is most beneficial to the man himself.

Pitt joining the war party in 1793, the most
 flagrant and the most fatal instance of this offence,
 one which at once presents itself; because
 Lord North's adversaries there was none who
 reproached him with such unrelenting rancour, to the
 effect of peremptorily refusing all negotiations with
 the war party, unless their new ally should be ex-
 cepted when he, with a magnanimity rare indeed
 among statesmen, instantly removed the obstacle
 to the bitter adversary's elevation, by withdrawing
 himself from a share of power. No one more clearly

than Mr. Pitt saw the ruinous consequences of the contest into which his new associates, the deserters from the Whig standard, were drawing or were driving him; none so clearly perceived or so highly valued the blessings of peace, as the finance minister, who had but the year before accompanied his reduction of the whole national establishment with a picture of our future prosperity almost too glowing even for his great eloquence to attempt. Accordingly it is well known, nor is it ever contradicted by his few surviving friends, that his thoughts were all turned to peace. But the voice of the court was for war; the aristocracy was for war; the country was not disinclined towards war being just in that state of excitable (though as yet not excited) feeling which it depended upon the government, that is, upon Mr. Pitt, either to calm down into a sufferance of peace, or rouse into a vehement desire of hostilities. In these circumstances, the able tactician, whose genius was confined to parliamentary operations, at once perceived that a war must place him at the head of all the power in the state, and, by uniting with him the more aristocratic portion of the Whigs, cripple his adversaries irreparably; and he preferred flinging his country into a contest which he and his great antagonist by uniting their forces must have prevented; but then he must also have shared with Mr. Fox the power which he was determined to

be removed," had now no longer any pretext uttering such sounds as those. The Regent, afterwards the King, had no prejudices which any man be his nature ever so sensitive, was called on respect; for he had, up to the illness of his father, been a warm friend of the Catholics. Yet, sooner did he declare against his former principle than Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Canning also declared that his conscience (the scrupulous conscience of George IV.!) must not be forced, and one administration was formed after another upon principle of abandoning all principle in order to follow the interests of the parties, and of leaving the domestic peace of the country by common consent out of view. The present state of Ireland and indeed to a certain degree the unworthy course pursued by their successors on Irish affairs, is the fruit, and the natural fruit, of this wholly unprincipled system.

The subject of Parliamentary Reform affords other illustrations of a like kind. To alter the constitution of parliament as one party termed it to restore it as another said, but to change the actual structure as all admitted, might be right it might be wrong; might be necessary for the peace of the country, or might be the beginning of an inextricable confusion; but at any rate statesmen were called upon to decide so grave a question upon its own merits—a question by far the most

mentors of ... were in this world
 far summoned to di ... the peaceful deli-
 cations of council, ... to decide by the
 means of argument alone—a q ... tion which, in
 any other age, perhaps any otl ... country, must
 have been determined, t by ... tions of poli-
 ticians or arguments of orators, but by the swords
 and the spears of an ... combatants. Yet this
 question has more th ... e, and by more than
 one party, been made the ... act of compromise,
 a time taken up, at ano ... l down, as
 suited the convenience ... the duty of
 statesmen. Of a cer ... ty, those men have no
 right to blame Lord North for remaining in office,
 though disapproving the American war, rather
 than break up the government and open the doors
 of Downing-street to the Opposition. In one re-
 spect, indeed, Lord North has been by far outdone
 by them. No exigency of party affairs ever drove
 him back to the side of the American controversy
 which he had escaped. But the “Reformers of
 the Eleventh Hour,” having made all the use of
 their new creed which they well could, took the
 opportunity of the new reign to cast it off, and,
 fancying they could now do without it, returned
 into the bosom of their own church, becoming once
 more faithful supporters of things as they are, and
 sworn enemies of reform.

A new and perhaps unexpected vindication

Lord North has been recently presented by the Canadian policy of liberal governments, as far as mistakes by inferior artists can extenuate the failings of their more eminent predecessors. When the senseless folly was stated of clinging by colonies wholly useless and merely expensive, which all admit must sooner or later assert their independence and be severed from the mother-country, none of all this was denied, nor indeed could it; but the answer was, that no government whatever could give up any part of its dominions without being compelled by force, and that history afforded no example of such a surrender without an obstinate struggle. What more did Lord North, and the other authors of the disgraceful contest with America, than act upon this bad principle?

But a general disposition exists in the present day to adopt a similar course to the one which we have been reprobating in him, and that upon questions of the highest importance. It seems to be demanded by one part of the community, and almost conceded by some portion of our rulers in our days, that it is the duty of statesmen when in office to abdicate the functions of Government. We allude to the unworthy, the preposterous, the shameful, the utterly disgraceful doctrine of what are called "*open questions*." Its infamy and its audacity has surely no parallel. Enough was it that the Catholic Emancipation should have been

in this fashion, from a supposed necessity
the pressure of fancied, nay fictitious
No one till now ever had the assur-
t forward, as a general principle, so pro-
rule of conduct; amounting indeed to
when any set of politicians find their
d recorded opinions inconsistent with the
office, they may lay them aside, and
the duty of Government while they retain
ments and its powers. Mark well, too,
not done upon some trivial question,
men who would act together in one body
inment of great and useful objects may
mes must waive, or settle by mutual con-
nothing of the kind; it is upon the greatest
useful of all objects that the abdication is
and is supposed to be made. Whether
all be final or progressive—whether the
franchise shall be extended or not—
oting shall be by Ballot or open—whether
Laws shall be repealed or not—such are
upon which the ministers of the Crown
ed to have exactly no opinion; alone of
community to stand mute and inactive,
nking, neither stirring—and to do just
either more nor less than—nothing. It
unnecessary to say more. “*The word ab-*
which men debated so long one hun-
dred years ago, is the only word in the

dictionary which can suit the case. Can any one thing be more clear than this, that there are questions upon which it is wholly impossible that a Government should not have some opinion, and equally necessary that, in order to deserve the name of a Government, its members should agree? Why are one set of men in office rather than another, but because they agree among themselves, and differ with their adversaries upon such great questions as these? The code of political morality recognises the *idem sentire de republica* as a legitimate bond of virtuous union among honest men; the *idem velle atque idem nolle* is also a well-known principle of action; but among the associates of Catiline, and by the confession of their profligate leader. Can it be doubted for a moment of time, that when a government has said "We cannot agree on these the only important points of practical policy," the time is come for so reconstructing and changing it, as that an agreement imperiously demanded by the best interests of the state may be secured? They are questions upon which an opinion must be formed by every man, be he statesman or individual, ruler or subject. Each of the great measures in question is either expedient or it is hurtful. The people have an indisputable right to the help of the Government in furthering it if beneficial, in resisting it if pernicious; and to proclaim that, on these subjects, the governors of

country, all are the
 lions to their fate, is ly to when-
 it is most necessary to a Government,
 are no Government at all: y? Be-
 they in, whose hands the a- tration of
 is vested are reserved ra to their
 then to do their duty.

similar view is somet out forward and even
 upon, but of so vulgar, so incomparably base
 d, that we hardly know if we should deign to
 ion it. The partisans of a ministry are wont
 y for their patrons, that, unless the country
 for certain measures, it shall not have them.
 t! Is this the duty of rulers? Are men in
 stations to give all that may be asked, and
 to give because of the asking, without re-
 ing whether it be a boon or a bane? Is the
 o of them that hold the citadel to be "Knock,
 t shall be opened unto you?"—Assuredly such
 as these do not rise even to the mean rank of
 disgraced spirits elsewhere, who while in life

— visser senza infamia e senza lodo;

of them we may at least say as of these,

Non ragionam di lor ma guarda e passa.*

While Lord North led the House of Commons,
 and extremely little help from any merely poli-
 men of his party. No ministers joined him in

* DANTÉ, *Inf.*

defending the measures of his Government. His reliance was upon professional supporters; as Gibbon has described him as slumbering between the great legal Pillars of his administration, his Attorney and Solicitor General, who indeed composed his whole strength, until Mr. Dundas, also professional supporter, being Lord Advocate of Scotland, became a new and very valuable accession to his forces.

LORD LOUGHBOROUGH.

WEDDERBURN, afterwards Lord Loughborough Earl of Rosslyn, was one of the few eminent men who have shone at the least as much in civil affairs as in Westminster Hall. Of those English barristers to whom this remark is appli-

Mr. Perceval was perhaps the most considerable; of men bred at the Scotch bar, and who promoted in England, Lord Melville: Mr. Wedderburn, in some sort, partook of both kinds, having been originally an advocate in Edinburgh, where he distinguished himself by his eloquence and the fierceness of his invective, which, being directed against a leading member of the bar, ended in quarrel with the court, led to his removing to the provincial theatre, and ultimately raised him to the English bench. He was a person of great powers, cultivated with much care, and chiefly directed towards public speaking. Far from being a found lawyer, he was versed in as much professional learning on ordinary subjects as sufficed him on the common occasions of *Nisi Prius*. On the law, he is believed to have had more know-

ledge, and the whole subject lies within a very narrow compass. He affected great acquaintance with constitutional learning; but on this doubt were entertained, augmented, certainly, by the scrupulous manner in which his opinions were in the service of the political parties he successively belonged to. But his strength lay in dealing with facts; and here all his contemporaries represent powers to have been unrivalled. It was probably this genius for narrative, for arguing upon probabilities, for marshalling and for sifting evidence that shone so brilliantly in his great speech at the bar of the House of Lords upon the celebrated Douglas cause, and which no less a judge than Mr. Fox pronounced to be the very finest he ever heard on any subject. It must, however, be remarked, in abatement of this high panegyric, that the faculty of statement and of reasoning without the excitement of a contentious debate, being very little possessed by that great man himself, a happy display of it, not so unusual in professional men, might produce a greater impression upon him than was proportioned to its true value and real weight. That it was a prodigious exhibition may nevertheless be admitted to the united testimony of all who recollect it, and who have lived in our own time. That Lord Loughborough never forgot the Douglas cause itself, as he was said to have forgotten many merely legal arguments in which he, from

time to the, appears from one
 of his judgments in ery, w . . . e he imported
 into a case before him t . . . longing to it,
 but recollected by him as proved in the
 case of Douglas.

His manner in early life was remarked as excellent; and though it probably partook even then of that over-precision which in his later years, sometimes bordered upon the ridiculous, it must certainly have been above the common order of forensic delivery to earn the reputation which has remained for it. That he made it an object of his especial care is certain. He is supposed to have studied under a player; and he certainly spared no pains to eradicate his northern accent, beside being exceedingly careful to avoid provincial solecisms. His efforts were eminently successful in both these particulars; but the force of second nature, habit, will yield to that of Nature herself, who is apt to overcome in the end all violence that cultivation may do her. His Scotticisms and his vernacular tones returned as his vigour was impaired in the decline of life; showing that it was all the while an effort which could not continue when the attention was relaxed and its powers enfeebled.

Upon the removal of Sir Fletcher Norton he joined the Northern Circuit, having then the rank of King's Counsel. As this was contrary to all the rules of the profession, and was, indeed, deemed

to be a discreditable proceeding as well as a breach of discipline, even independent of other peculiarities attending the operation,* an immediate resolution was adopted by the Bar to refuse holding brief with the new-comer; a resolution quite fatal to him, had not Mr. Wallace, a man of undoubted learning and ability, been tempted to break it, and thereby at once to benefit himself and nearly destroy the combination. He thus secured, beside the immediate advantage of professional advancement, the patronage of his leader, who in a few years became Solicitor-General, and afterwards Attorney, under Lord North's administration, drawing Mr. Wallace upwards in his train. He practised in the Court of Chancery; but in those days the line had not been drawn which now, so hurtfully for the Equity practitioner, separates the two sides of Westminster Hall; and Chancery leaders frequented the different circuits almost equally with practitioners in the courts of Common Law.

When he entered the House of Commons he became, in a very short time, one of the two main supports of its ministerial leader; the other was Lord Thurlow: and while they remained there to defend him Lord North might well, as Gibbon has described the "Palinurus of the state," indulge his slumbers, with his Attorney and Solicitor General.

* He came there with the same clerk whom Sir F. North had before in his service.

together in the long debate. In the time of Mr. Addison the services of the orators, they and Mr. [?] shared with him the weight of an attack conducted by the power of an opposition which Burke and Fox interrupted series of which, during the whole American controversy, at the councils of the King and his servants. Of the debates in the House of Commons, which scanty remains are preserved, that no one can discover from them the qualities, or even the names of the orators who bore a part in them. The critic cannot from such fragments divine the species and supply the lost parts, as the comparative anatomist can by the inspection of a few bones in the fossil strata of the globe. Until, therefore, Lord Loughborough came to the House of Lords, indeed until the Regency question occupied that assembly in 1788 and 1789, we were left without the means of assigning his place as a debater. Of his forensic powers we have better opportunities to judge. Several of his arguments are preserved, particularly in the Duchess of Kingston's case and in one or two names of celebrity heard before him in the Common Pleas, from which we can form an idea, and it is a very exalted one, of his clearness and neat-

ness of statement, the point and precision of language, and the force and even fire with which he pressed his argument, or bore down upon an adverse combatant. The effect of his eloquence upon a very favourable audience certainly, at a season of great public violence and delusion, it was against the Americans, and before the Council at the commencement of the revolution well known. Mr. Fox alluded to it in his speech in the Commons against being led away by eloquence as Mr. Pitt had just astonished them at the renewal of the war in 1803; reminding how all men "tossed up their hats and clapped hands in boundless delight" at Mr. Wedderburn's Privy-Council speech, without reckoning that it was to entail upon them. Of this famous defence nothing remains but a small portion of his invective against Franklin, which, being couched in epigram and conveyed by classical allusion, has been preserved, as almost always happens to what is thus sheathed. It refers to some letters of a colonial governor, which, it was alleged, had been put unfairly into Franklin's hands, and been improperly used by him; and the Solicitor-General's classical wit was displayed in jesting upon an illustrious person's literary character, and calling him a man of three letters, the old Roman joke about a thief! Pity that so sorry a sample of so celebrated an orator should be all that has reached

at time to by Mr. Fox
effects which its deli duced ! We are
unmindful of Swift's all status of
of which nothing r save middle
L

at the speech and the whole scene was not
at its effect upon him who was the principal
of attack, appears sufficiently certain ; for
h, at the moment, a magnanimous, and, in-
somewhat overdone, expression of contempt
e speaker is reported to have escaped him in
r to one who hoped, rather clumsily, that he
t feel hurt, "I should think myself meaner
I have been described, if anything coming
such a quarter could vex me ;" yet it is well
a that, when the ambassadors were met to
the peace of Versailles, by which the inde-
nce of America was acknowledged, Franklin
d, in order to change his dress and affix his
to the treaty in those very garments which he
when attending the Privy Council, and which
d kept by him for the purpose during many
a little inconsistently, it must be confessed,
he language of contemptuous indifference used
n at the moment.

ien he was raised to the bench in 1780, and
pecial Commission was issued for trying the
s, he presided, and delivered a charge to the
l Jury, the subject at the time of much ani,

madversion for its matter, and of boundless panegyric for its execution. It was published and widely circulated under the authority of the learned Judge himself; and we have thus in the first place the means of determining how far the contemporary opinions upon that production itself were well founded, and next how far the admiration excited by the other efforts of the same artist was justly bestowed. Whoever now reads this celebrated charge will confess that the blame and the praise allotted to it were alike exaggerated. Far from laying down bad law and propagating from the Bench dangerous doctrines respecting treason, the whole legal portion of it consists in a quotation from Judge Foster's book, and a statement in which every lawyer must concur, that the Riot Act was never intended to prevent the magistrate from quelling a riot during the hour after proclamation. Then the whole merit of the address in point of execution consists in the luminous, concise, and occasionally impressive sketch of the late riotous proceedings which had given rise to the trials. That this narrative, delivered in a clear and melodious voice, loud without being harsh, recently after the event, and while men's minds were filled with the alarm of their late escape, and with indignation at the cause of their fears, should make a deep impression, and pass current as a standard of eloquence far above the true one, may well be

red. But the reproach is
 were lies the true ground of the
 of the Judge who could not
 he pains manifested through
 site, or rather to have a glowing
 feelings which the due of
 required him rather than to allay.
 in a short month after the riots themselves
 d-forty persons were put upon their trial for
 offence; and nearly the whole of the Chief
 Justice's address consisted of a solemn and stately
 upon the enormity of the offence, and a
 of whatever could be alleged in extenuation
 of offenders' conduct. It resembled far more
 the speech of an advocate for the prosecution than
 the charge of a Judge to the Grand Jury. Again,
 we find a composition which all men had
 to praise as a finished specimen of oratory,
 ; to a rather ordinary level, there is some
 liberty in avoiding the inference that an abate-
 should also be made from the great eulogies
 reserved upon its author's other speeches, which
 had not reached us; and we can hardly be without
 the opinion that much of their success may have been
 due to the power of a fine delivery, and a clear
 in setting off inferior matter; to which may
 be added the never-failing effect of correct compo-
 sition if employed either at the Bar or in Parlia-
 ment where a more slovenly diction is so much
 frequent even with the best speakers.

That he was a thoroughly-devoted party-man all his life, can indeed no more be questioned than that he owed to the manœuvres of faction much of his success. He did not cease to feel the force of party attachment when he ascended the Bench ; and there can be no doubt that his object at all times, even while he sat in the Common Pleas, was to gain the great prize of the profession which he at length reduced into possession. We shall in vain look for any steady adherence to one code of political principles, any consistent pursuit of one undeviating line of conduct, in his brilliant and uniform successful career. He entered parliament in uncompromising opposition to Lord North's cabinet, and for some years distinguished himself among their most fierce assailants, at a time when no great errors had been committed, or any crimes against public liberty or the peace of the world could be laid to their charge. On the eve of the American war he joined them when their measures were becoming daily more indefensible ; and it is known that, like many others in similar circumstances, he appeared at first to have lost the power of utterance so astonished and overcome was he with the plans which he had made after preferment.* But he soon recovered his faculties, and continued in office to

* Alluding to this passage of his life, Junius, in his XLIVth Letter, says, " We have seen him in the House of Commons overwhelmed with confusion, and almost bereft of his faculties."

and unflinching supporter of all the measures, which his former adversaries converted into disaffection, and out of disaffection into revolt; nor did he quit them when they wrecked the empire in twain. Removed from both the senate and the forum, on the bench named their partizan, when they joined in a league with their ambitious and unscrupulous king. For many years of Mr. Pitt's administration he was the real if not the avowed leader of the opposition in the House of Lords, as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Westminster Hall. He had under the Coalition a foretaste of that great banquet of dignity and emolument and power, on which he immoveably fixed his long-sighted and penetrating eye; having been Chief Commissioner of the Great Seal during the short life of that justly celebrated administration. This scanty repast but increased his appetite the more; and among the bold and unhesitating of the Prince's advisers on the question of the Regency, the Chief was to be found the boldest and most daring.

We can, upon a calm review of that famous controversy, entertain any doubt that the strict letter of the constitution prescribed one course, the manifest considerations of expediency recommended another. Nothing can be more contrary

to the whole frame of a monarchy than allow the very fundamental principle, that of hereditary descent, for which and its benefits so many strange and even pernicious anomalies are overlooked, such constant risks encountered, and such serious practical inconveniences borne with, to be broken upon when the sovereign is disabled, whether in infancy, or by old age, or by disease, and, instead of following the plain course of the succession, to call in the elective voice of the country by an assembly that resolves the government into its first principle. To make this appeal, and not merely to elect a regent, but to limit his powers, is in other words to frame a new constitution for the state which shall last during the monarch's incapacity, and which, if it be fit for the purposes of government, ought assuredly not to be replaced by the old one when he recovers or attains his perfect powers of action. The phantom of a commission issued by an incapable king to confer upon what the two other branches of the legislature had proposed, the outward semblance of a statute passed by all three, was an outrage upon all constitutional principle, and, indeed, upon the common sense of mankind, yet more extravagant than the elective nature of the whole process. Nevertheless, there were reasons of a practical description which overbore these obvious considerations, and reconciled men's minds to such an anomalous proceeding. It seem



bill to which the two remaining branches alone of the crippled Parliament had assented, instead of their addressing the Heir-apparent, declaring the temporary vacancy of the throne, and desiring him temporarily to fill it. The sudden recovery of the King prevented the experiment from being fully tried; but it was repeated after great opposition and much discussion in 1810. The two precedents thus made have now settled the constitutional law and practice in this important particular.

The Parliament of Ireland, it is to be remarked did not, in the earlier case, pursue the same course with that of Great Britain. Our fellow-citizens although dwelling farther from the rising sun, were more devotedly given to its worship than ourselves. They could see nothing of expediency or discretion sufficient to restrain their zeal; and they at once addressed the Prince of Wales to take upon himself the government without any restriction whatever, leaving it to His Royal Highness to make what provision he might deem most convenient for his own dethronement and his father's restoration should he recover. It is the same country which, having some thirty years later been ill-used by the same individual, testified their sense of this treatment by overt acts of idolatry, when he was among them at the most justly unpopular period of his life, and even began a subscription for build-

him a palmar, of which, however, not a farthing
ever paid.*

In the consultations, and in the intrigues, to
in this crisis gave rise, Lord Loughborough
a forward part. That he should have agreed
the rest of the party in the constitutional view
in they took of the question, could excite no
rise, nor give rise to any comment. But it is
known that his views were of a more practical
re than any which appeared in the debate.
In determined, unscrupulous, he recommended
council a course which nothing but the courage
red from desperation could have made any
like Statesmen in the eighteenth century take
their serious consideration, and which, if it had
pursued, would have left the odium attached

General censures of a whole nation are generally
h, and really of no avail. But, if the Irish people
avoid the ill opinion under which they labour among
on of reflection, and raise themselves to the rank of a
a fit for self-government, they must begin to show that
can think for themselves, and not follow blindfolded
delusion, or suffer to be practised upon them every
and shameless fraud, and give the countenance of their
existence to every avowal of profligate principles which
e made before them. At present, they are only known
rest of their fellow-citizens for a mass of people never
ited, though absolutely ruled, by the priests and the
sts, who use them as blind, unreflecting tools. Yet the
s and the worth of the nation are denied by none.
they soon be really emancipated, and learn to think and
themselves!

to the Coalition in the shade, and made the people of this country repent them of not having decried the parties to it yet more bitterly and more universally. It was the opinion of the Lord Justice, that the Prince of Wales should not have waited for even an address of the two houses, considering them as nonentities while the throne was empty, should at once have proceeded to reign, as it was delicately and daintily termed, the executive branch of the constitution; in other words, to proclaim himself regent, and issue his orders to the troops and the magistrates, as if his father were naturally dead, and he had succeeded, in the line of nature, to the vacant crown. There is no reason to believe that this scheme of Lord Loughborough was adopted by the chiefs of the party, nor, if it is there any evidence that it was communicated to them. That it was an advice hinted to the king, apparent, or at least a subject discussed with him, and of which memoranda remain in the Chief Justice's hand-writing, is very confidently affirmed from ocular inspection. Whether or not a popular prince might with safety have ventured upon such an experiment, is a question so wide of the actual case, that no time needs be wasted in its solution. That the individual to whom such perilous advice was tendered could not have acted so without a civil war, appears sufficiently evident. Indeed, the marriage *de facto*, legal or illegal,

in he had contracted with a Catholic lady, and which the circumstances were generally known, did alone have furnished Mr. Pitt with a sufficient objection to his title; and the country would have owed to one of her reverend judges the blessing of a disputed succession and intestine tumults, as she had not experienced since the days of two Roses. There can be little doubt, whether consider the character of the man, or his subsequent conduct towards George III. on the Catholic question, and his advice respecting the Coronation, that part of Lord Loughborough's design was to obtain an undivided control over the Prince, should then have flung himself into his hands adopting his extreme opinions, and acting upon hazardous counsels.

the discomfiture of the opposition party by the King's recovery, and by the great accession to his personal popularity which his illness had occasioned, Lord Loughborough had no prospect of power for many years. The French Revolution was then approaching, and the Whigs suffered the almost irreparable blow of the Portland party separating themselves upon the great questions connected with the event. He was one of the seceders; nor in taking this step did he quit his allies of the North. The Great Seal, now within his reach by Thurlow's quarrel with Mr. Pitt, may have acted as an additional temptation to close his

ears against the evils of the war into which this junction plunged the country; but one, who had defended the government steadily through all the calamities of the American contest, had not much to learn of fortitude in seasons of difficulty, or of patience under public misfortune. He held the Great Seal for seven or eight years, and was at the head of the law during the period of attempted proscription and actual persecution of the Reformers, the professors of those opinions carried to the extreme, which the Whigs, his late allies, professed in more moderation and with a larger admixture of aristocratic prejudices. But of him it cannot be said, as of Mr. Pitt, that he had ever professed reform principles. On the contrary, the North party at all times differed upon that question with their Foxite coadjutors, who, indeed, differed sufficiently upon it among themselves.

The character of Lord Loughborough stood far less high as a judge than as either a debater in parliament or an advocate at the bar. His decisions evince little of the learning of his profession, and do not even show a very legal structure of the understanding. They are frequently remarkable enough for clear and even felicitous statements; but in close argument, as in profound knowledge, they are evidently deficient. Some of his judgments in the Common Pleas were more distinguished by ability, and more admired at the time, than any

pronounced in the court where the greater
is life had been passed. But he was not
r at the head of the profession. His
were courteous and even noble ; his libe-
s great. Wholly above any sordid feelings
e or parsimony, and only valuing his high
r the powers which it conferred, and the
rith which it was compassed round about,
ained its state with a munificent expendi-
l amassed no money for his heirs. He
over endued with personal qualities which
us profession is apt to esteem highly.
ly accomplished as a scholar, cultivating
fe the society of literary men, determined
sitating in his conduct, polite in his de-
elegant, dignified in his habits, equal in
r to all practitioners, unawed by their
s uninfluenced by any partialities, and
n maintaining his own and his profession's
ance of any ministerial authority—those
e succeeded him never advanced greater
the personal confidence or respect of the
l his known deficiencies in much higher
ions were overlooked by men who felt
t vain of being ruled or being represented
a chief. In this exalted station he re-
uring the whole eventful years that fol-
e breaking out of the French war, and
retirement of those who had made it, a

retirement probably occasioned by the necessity of restoring peace, but usually ascribed to the controversy on the Catholic question, its pretext and occasion rather than its cause.

The fancy respecting the coronation oath which so entirely obtained possession of George III.'s mind and actuated his conduct during the whole discussion of Irish affairs, is now generally believed to have been impressed upon it by Lord Loughborough, and probably was devised by his subtilty of mind, as it was used by his intriguing spirit, for the purpose of influencing the king. But, if this was the object of the notable device, never did an intriguer more signally fail in his scheme. The cabinet to which he belonged was broken up; still more crafty successor obtained both the place he had just quitted in the king's service, and the place he had hoped to fill in the king's favour; he was made an earl, with the title of Rosslyn; he was laid on the shelf; and as his last move, he retired to a villa remarkable for its want of all beauty and all comforts, but recommended by its near neighbourhood to Windsor Castle, where the former Chancellor was seen dancing a ridiculous attendance upon royalty, unnoticed by the object of his suit, and marked only by the jeering and motley crowd that frequented the terrace. For three years he lived in this state of public neglect without the virtue to employ his remaining faculties.

the king

by

at-

presence, or the

for his own

protection, and

When he died,

after a few hours'

the intelligence was

brought to the king

, with a circumspection

immediately character

, the bearer of it if

he was quite sure

as Lord Rosslyn had

not been sailing be

d, upon being assured

that a sudden attack

of grief in the stomach had

finally ended the day

of his servant and once

valorous courtier,

his majesty was graciously

pleased to exclaim—"Then he has not left a worse

man behind him." *

It is the imperative duty of the historian to dwell upon the fate, while he discloses with impartial fullness, and marks with just reprobation, the acts of such men; to the end that their great success, as it is called, may not mislead others, and conceal behind the glitter of worldly prosperity the baser material with which the structure of their fortune is built up. This wholesome lesson, and indeed needful warning, is above all required when we are called upon to contemplate a professional and political life so eminently prosperous as the one which we have been contemplating, which rolled on in an uninterrupted tide of worldly gain and

* The liberty has been taken to translate the expressive though homely English of royalty into a phrase more decorous and less unfeeling upon such an occasion.

worldly honours, but was advanced only by shining and superficial talents, supported by no fixed principles, illustrated by no sacrifices to public virtue, embellished by no feats of patriotism, nor memorable by any monuments of national utility, and which, being at length closed in the disappointment of mean, unworthy desires, ended amidst universal neglect, and left behind it no claim to respect or the gratitude of mankind, though it might have excited the admiration or envy of the contemporary vulgar.

LORD THURLOW.

other helpmate upon whom Gibbon paints
 lot of the state as reposing was as different a
 a from Lord Loughborough in all respects
 a well be imagined. We refer of course to
 Thurlow, who filled the office of Attorney-
 ral until the year 1778, when he took the
 t Seal. The remains that have reached us
 : exhibitions as a speaker, whether at the bar,
 rliament, or on the bench, are more scanty
 than those of his colleagues ; for, while he sat
 e bench, the reports in Chancery were on the
 re and jejune footing of the older books ; and
 only over a year or two of his presiding in the
 t that Mr. Vesey, junior's, full and authentic
 rts extend. There seems, however, from all
 ints, to have been much less lost of Lord
 low than there would have been of subsequent
 es, had the old-fashioned summaries only of
 y proceedings been preserved ; for his way
 to decide, not to reason ; and, in court as well
 parliament, no man ever performed the office,
 her of judging or debating, with a smaller
 nditure of argument.

This practice, if it saves the time of the pul-
 gives but little satisfaction to the suitor. judges who pursue it forget that, to satisfy parties, or at least to give them such ground ought to satisfy reasonable men, is in importance only next to giving them a right judgment. Almost as important is it to satisfy the profession and country, which awaits to gather the law, the of their conduct in advising or in acting, from lips of the judge. Nor is it immaterial to the interest even of the party who gains, that the ground should be made known of his success, especially courts from which there lies an appeal to a high tribunal. The consequence of Sir John Leach deciding generally with few or no reasons assigned was, that appeals were multiplied; the successful party had only obtained half a victory; and it became a remark, frequent in the mouths of successive chancellors, that causes were *decided* before but *heard* before them. It is an unaccountable mistake into which some fall, when they fancy the more weight is attached to such mere sentences because prefaced by no reasons; as if the judge were to declare the law infallible like an oracle or omnipotent like a lawgiver, and keep to himself all knowledge of the route by which he had arrived at his conclusion. The very reverse is true. With an enlightened bar and an intelligent people, the mere authority of the bench will cease to have

it all, if it be unaccompanied with argument or explanation. But were it otherwise, it would fail, and signally fail; for the only weight derived from the practice would be to which the judgment had no claim, the outward semblance to the ignorance of a determination more clear and positive really existed. Add to all this, that no whatever can be afforded for the mind of the judge having been directed to the different points in each case, and his attention having been confined to the whole of the discussions at the bar, less in equity-proceedings, and his having affidavits and other documentary evidence, he states explicitly the view which he takes of various matters, whether of law or of fact, that have been brought before him. With the exception of Sir John Leach, Lord Thurlow is the only judge who adopted the very bad practice of giving reasons for his decisions. But his habit of cavilling at the reasons of the common-law courts, when a judge was sent to them for their opinion, a habit followed by Lord Eldon, extended to those of his own court in a remarkable and very hurtful manner, and to his own practice: for the temper of the judges became ruffled; and, instead of courting a discussion of their reasons, they resorted to the evil method of returning their answers

or certificates without any reasons at all—a conduct which nothing but the respect due to the bench could hinder men from terming childish the extreme. This custom having been much lessured by succeeding chancellors, and the House of Lords itself having of late years departed altogether from the old rule of only assigning reasons when a judgment or decree is to be reversed or varied upon Appeal, it is to be hoped that the common law judges will once more deign to let the profession know the grounds of their judgments upon the highly important cases sent from Chancery, as they do without the least fear of cavil or criticism upon any trifling matter that comes before them, and (be it most reverently observed in passing) with very little desire to avoid either prolixity or repetition.

If Lord Thurlow, however, has left no monuments of his judicial eloquence; and if, indeed, his place among lawyers was not the highest, he is admitted to have well understood the ordinary practice and leading principles of those courts which he had passed his life; and his judgments for the most part gave satisfaction to the profession. He had no mean powers of despatching the business of the court, and of the House of Lords when presiding upon appeals; nor could any man in the article resemble him less than the most eminent of his successors, who was understood to have ma-

a model in a of l c ration,
 ing it, after his a h. ex res
 generous than expr e, l more p -
 in becoming. Far fr owi like Lord
 a patience which ac p ixity. c d exhaust,
 temper which was i to be vexed by
 the argumentation nor by endless repetition
 nor still from cour protracted and re-
 discussion of each tter, already worn
 are—Lord Thurlow showed to the suitor
 mined, and to the bar a surly, aspect, which
 t perilous to try experiments on the limits
 patience, by making it somewhat doubtful if
 any patience at all. Aware that the judge
 addressing knew enough of their common
 ion not to be imposed upon, and bore so
 eference to any other as to do exactly what
 himself—nay, apprehensive that the measure
 courtesy was too scanty to obstruct the over-
 a very audible sounds of the sarcastic and
 ptery matter which eyes of the most fixed
 , beneath eye-brows formed by nature to
 the abstract idea of a perfect frown, showed
 gathering or already collected—the advocate
 compelled to be select in choosing his topics
 mperate in handling them; and oftentimes
 duced to a painful dilemma better fitted for
 patch than the right decision of causes, the
 tive being presented of leaving material

points unstated, or calling down against his client the unfavourable determination of the Court. It would be incorrect to state that Lord Thurlow in this respect equalled or even resembled Sir John Leach, with whom every consideration made way for the vanity of clearing his cause-paper in a time which rendered it physically impossible for other causes to be heard. But he certainly more nearly approached that extreme than he did the opposite, endless delay and habitual vacillation of expression rather than of purpose, upon which Lord Eldon made shipwreck of his judicial reputation, though possessing all the greater qualities of a lawyer and judge. In one important particular he and Sir John Leach closely resembled each other, and widely differed from the other eminent persons who has just been named. While on the bench the mind of both was given wholly to the matter before them, and never wandered from it at all. An ever wakeful and ever-fixed attention at once enabled them to apprehend the merits of each case and catch each point at the first statement, precluding the necessity of much after-consideration and reading, and, indeed, rehearing; and kept the advocate's mind also directed to his points, confining his exertions within reasonable limits, while it was rewarded him for his closeness and his conciseness. The judge's reward, too, was proportionably great. He felt none of that load which pressed upon Lord

he reflected how much remained for
all the fatigue of his attendance in
an undergone; that anxiety which
last points should escape his reading
we been urged in the oral arguments
without listening to them; the irri-
vexed him until he had from long use
much for it, when he looked around
inextricable confusion of his judicial
like the embarrassed trader, became
any more, or examine any closer the
situation. If a contrast were to be
on the ease and the discomfort of a
bench, as far as the personal feelings
ers are concerned, it would hardly be
beyond that which was afforded by
ldon.

vers as a debater there are now no
n an estimate, except what tradition,
ig more scanty and precarious, may
possessed great depth of voice, rolled
aces with unbroken fluency, and dis-
dence both of tone and of assertion
panied by somewhat of Dr. Johnson's
tentiousness, often silenced when it
ince; for of reasoning he was pro-
ing: there are those indeed who will
e never was known to do anything
attended to, even looked like using

an argument, although, to view the speaker carelessly to hear him, you would say he was lay waste the whole field of argumentation and persing and destroying all his antagonists. His aspect was more solemn and imposing than almost any other person's in public life, so much so that Mr. Fox used to say it proved him dishonest, since no man could *be* so wise as he *looked*. Nor did he neglect any of the external circumstances, trifling soever, by which attention and deference could be secured on the part of his audience. His only were his periods well rounded, and the connecting matter or continuing phrases well hung, but the tongue was so hung as to make the sonorous voice peal through the hall, and appear to convey things which it would be awful to examine too near, and perilous to question. Nay, to more trivial circumstance of his place, when addressing the House of Lords, he scrupulously tended. He rose slowly from his seat: he left his wool-sack with deliberation; but he went not to the nearest place, like ordinary Chancellors, sons of mortal men; he drew back by a pace or two, and standing as it were askance, and pale behind the huge bale he had quitted for a seat, he began to pour out, first in a growl, and then in a clear and louder roll, the matter which he had to deliver, and which for the most part consisted in some positive assertions, some personal vitæ

is sarcasms at „classes,“ some sentences
 upon individuals, as if they were
 before him for judgment, some vague
 threats of things purposely not ex-
 d abundant protestations of conscience
 in which they who keep the consciences
 are somewhat apt to indulge.

vious that to give any examples that
 convey an idea of this kind of vamped
 , delusive, nay, almost fraudulent oratory,
 impossible. But one or two passages
 hearsed. When he had, in 1788, first
 ctively with the Whigs and the Prince
 Regency question, being apparently in-
 revent his former colleague, and now
 , from clutching that prize—suddenly
 ; from one of the physicians the ap-
 convalence of the royal patient, he at
 nt's warning quitted the Carlton-house
 came down, with an assurance unknown
 les, perhaps even to himself not known
 l in his place undertook the defence of
 rights against his son and his partisans.
 uding sentence of this unheard-of per-
 was calculated to set all belief at defiance,
 om the man and in the circumstances.
 , for the sake of greater impressiveness,
 of a prayer ; though certainly it was not
 in the notes of supplication, but rather

rung forth in the sounds that weekly call men to the service: "And when I forget my Sovereign may my God forget me!" Whereupon Wilkes seated upon the foot of the throne, and who is known him long and well, is reported to have said somewhat coarsely but not unhappily, it must be allowed, "Forget you? He'll see you d——d first." Another speech in a different vein is preserved and shows some powers of drollery certainly. In the same debates, a noble character, who was remarkable for his delicacy and formal adherence to etiquette, having indeed filled diplomatic stations during great part of his life, had cited certain resolutions passed at the Thatched-house Tavern at some great party meeting. In adverting to them Lord Thurlow said, "As to what the noble Lord told you that he had heard at the ale-house." The effect of this humour, nearly approaching, it may be allowed, to a practical joke, may easily be received by those who are aware how much more certain in both Houses of Parliament the success of such things always is than of the most refined andalted wit. Upon another occasion, his misanthropy or rather his great contempt of all mankind, brought out characteristically enough. This prevailing feeling of his mind made all respect testified towards any person, all praise bestowed upon any may all defence of them under attack, extremely distasteful to him; indeed almost matter of pos-

So, ~~not~~ having occasion to mention a public functionary, whose conduct he infli-
 that he disapproved, he thought fit to add,
 for he it from me to express any blame of
 official person, whatever may be my opinion :
 at, I well know, would lay me open to hear
 anegryic." At the bar he appears to have
 as much the same wares; and they certainly
 at the staple of his operations in the commerce
 istry. His jest at the expense of two eminent
 men, in the Duchess of Kingston's case, is well
 n, and was no doubt of considerable merit.
 those very learned personages had come forth
 the recesses where doctors "most do con-
 ate," but in which they divide with their
 erous tomes the silence that is not broken by
 stranger footstep, and the gloom that is pierced
 o light from without, and appearing in a scene
 hich they were as strange as its gaiety was to
 eyes, had performed alternately the various
 tions of their recondite lore, Mr. Thurlow
 leased to say that the congress of two doctors
 reminded him of the noted saying of
 us—"Mirari se quod haruspex haruspicem
 risu adspicere posset." In conversation he
 as in debate, sententious and caustic. Dis-
 ang of the difficulty he had in appointing to a
 legal situation, he described himself as long
 uting between the intemperance of A, and the

corruption of B; but finally preferring the form Then, as if afraid, lest he had for the moment been betrayed into anything like unqualified commendation of any person, he added, correcting himself — “Not that there was not a — deal of corruption in A’s intemperance.” He had, however, other stores from which to furnish forth his talk for he was a man of no mean classical attainments; read much Greek, as well as Latin, after his retirement from office; and having become associated with the Whigs, at least in the intercourse of society, passed a good deal of time in the society of Mr. Fox, for whom it is believed that he felt great admiration, at least, he praised him in a way exceedingly unusual with him, and was therefore supposed to have admired him as much as he could any person, independent of the kind of thankfulness which he must have felt to any formidable opponent of Mr. Pitt, whom he hated with a hatred as hearty as even Lord Thurlow could feel, commingling his dislike with a scorn wholly unbecoming and not applied.

When he quitted the Great Seal, or rather when Mr. Pitt and he quarrelling, one or other must go, and the former was well resolved to remain, the retired chancellor appeared to retain a great interest in all the proceedings of the court which he had left, and was fond of having Sir John Leach, then a young barrister, to spend the evenings with

date whatever had passed in the course

It seemed somewhat contrary to his
ure and contracted habits of thinking,
ould feel any great concern about the
sh the administration of justice should
that he slumbered upon the shelf. But
r was easily explained, by observing that
felt, in at least its ordinary force, the
hich men long used to office bear towards
are so presumptuous as to succeed them ;
s gratified by thus sitting as a secret
vision, hearing of any mistakes com-
Lord Loughborough, and pronouncing
measured terms his judgment of reversal
things in which the latter no doubt

determination and clearness were more
than in the real vigour of his mind,
e no doubt ; for though, in disposing of
may have shown little oscitancy, as
e seldom arises any occasion for it where
easonably acquainted with his business
is attention without reserve to the dis-
yet, in all questions of political conduct,
berations upon measures, he is known
en exceedingly irresolute. Mr. Pitt
a colleague wholly unfruitful in council,
ays apt to raise difficulties, and very

slow and irresolute of purpose. The Whigs he joined them, soon discovered how inferior of mind there lay concealed behind the form of vigour and decision. He saw nothing but the obstacles to any course; was full of doubts and expedients to escape decided action. He appeared never prompt to act, but ever to oppose whoever had anything to recommend. He, as might be expected, did this suitless and impatient vehemence of Mr. Frazer described him as "that enemy of action."

Of a character so wanting in the sterling qualities which entitle the statesman to confidence and respect, or the orator to admiration, it is affirmed that what he wanted in claims of favour he made up in titles to esteem or as a private individual. His life was passed in great and habitual a disregard of the usual cast round high station, especially in the legal profession, as makes it extremely difficult to the grave and solemn exterior in which he would to shroud himself were anything more in manner he had acquired; for, assuredly, that he wore it as a cloak whereby men might be deceived, would hardly be consistent with his ordinary habits, as remote as well could be from the semblance of hypocrisy; and so far

tion of ap he v , that he
almost be small ro e Regent
ns, the "bad eminence" of l worse.*

. Simon relates a saying of
 and nephew, which, he
 therefore, that skilful writer or man
 praise of this "trait
 m des vices qu'il n'a pas."

LORD MANSFIELD.

CONTEMPORARY with these two distinguished lawyers, during the latter period of his life, a legal personage in every respect far more eminent than either, *the first* Lord Mansfield, than a few men, not at the head of state affairs, have any period of our history filled an exalted station for a longer period with more glory to themselves or with a larger share of influence over the fortunes of their country. He was singularly endowed with the qualities most fitted both to smooth for himself the path to professional advancement, to win the admiration of the world at large, and to maintain or even expand the authority of whatever situation he might be called to occupy. Enjoying all the advantages of a finished classical education, adding to this the enlargement of mind derived from foreign travel, undertaken at an age when attentive observation can be accompanied by mature reflection; he entered upon the profession of the law some years after he had reached maturity; and showed as much patient industry awaiting, by attendance in the courts, the elements and the honours of the gown, as he

and diligence to himself for its
 arts and its duties. In connexion with Scot-
 easily introduced him to the practice af-
 fided by the appellate courts of House
 lords;* and the accidental in-
 ter, a few years after, gave him
 opportunity of distinguish-
 ing himself before a
 the speedily rose into extensive practice, not,
 however, so much in Common-law as in
 equity.

Five years after he entered the profession he was
 Solicitor-General and came into parliament,
 though he had hitherto shunned, observing, with
 caution so characteristic of the man and of the
 age, "That he had many respected friends on
 both sides of the House, and did not care to lose
 the patronage of both parties for the favour of
 either." If this principle be as great an honour to
 public virtue as to his personal discretion, his
 biographer has done well to record it in proof of
 the praises which he lavishes upon him; and cer-
 tainly nothing in the subsequent course of his life
 was found which betokens a falling off from the
 early circumspection of his outset in life.

He soon rose to such eminence in this, that his bio-
 grapher, Halliday, has mentioned him as engaged in thirty
 trials during one session. A worse piece of biography
 than Halliday's, it may be observed in passing, hardly exists,
 notwithstanding its having so admirable a subject.

His powers as an advocate were great, though not first-rate. In manner, which he had studied so much that Pope was found one day superintending him while he practised before a looking-glass—in a sweetness of voice which by nature was almost unequalled—in clearness and skill of statement, which he so greatly laboured, that it was said his story was worth other men's argument, in the wariness and discretion so necessary to one that represents another's interest, as an advocate does his client's,—in knowledge accurate, as far as it went, if not very profound, of the principles of the law; and in an enlarged view of general subjects, whether of jurisprudence or of a more liberal kind—he stood high, either above all his contemporaries, or in their foremost rank. A certain want of vigour, a rising from the inroads which his constitutional caution made into the neighbouring dominions of his ally, fear, prevented him from ever filling the first place among advocates; and to anything that deserved the name of genius or of originality he preferred at no time and in no station any claims. Atkins, his staunch admirer, has preserved, with extreme eulogy, one of his arguments in a case of great importance; it is learned and able, but far from justifying the preference given to it over those of the other counsel, whose arguments in the same cause are also reported.

In the House of Commons it was his fortune

and the measures of government, when no men eminence filled the front ranks of the opposition but, excepting Mr. Pitt (Lord Chatham); and the perilous task of encountering him always was reserved for the ministerial chief himself. That was very successful as an elegant and persuasive speaker, is certain; that he was unequal to fill a place, at a time when the secret had not been covered of posting second-rate men in such positions, is as undeniable; and it is known that he felt this inadequacy: for an arrangement was at that period proposed, by which he was to have taken the lead, on the part of the government, and he promptly declined it. Indeed, he was both conscious of his power lying in a different direction, and resolved to follow the bent at once of his capacity and his inclination. Accordingly, on the death of Chief Justice Ryder, though much pressed to remain in parliament at a time when the ministry could ill spare him from the Treasury Bench, he distinctly intimated that, if he were not promoted to the place which he considered the Attorney-General's right, he should cease to hold any office; and a hint which was easily understood and wisely taken.

Over that great court he presided above thirty years; and his administration of its functions during that long period shed a lustre alike upon the tribunal and the judge. Although he had

chiefly practised in Chancery and the House of Lords, yet his correct legal understanding, his excellent sense, his familiar acquaintance with the general principles of jurisprudence, speedily supplied any deficiency which he might have in the practice of the Common Law, and the proceedings at Nisi Prius. His whole faculties, his temper, and his habits, were to the very defects which he had as an advocate, were admirably calculated for his exalted station. His mind and his temper were indeed, eminently judicial; and if, taking both the externals and the internal qualities into the account, that great judge, any one has ever administered justice in this country whom we can fairly compare to him. The greatest clearness of apprehension, sufficient, and not extreme, which was not perilous, often allied with impatience, and degenerate into hastiness; admirable command of statement, whether delivering in court and the bar, or giving his opinion in jury; conciseness with clearness of contributions which his understandings towards the formation of his judicial mind. He had a constant command of his temper, he was not betrayed into anger, or impatience, spleen or any other breach of a perfect equanimity, either towards

as. To it ties, intellectual
 ral, he added --- of a diction clas-
 d elegant; the orna, indeed, the
 ion of frequent refe to larger views
 a more technical disc n of legal ques-
 quires; and the fasci a n of a voice sin-
 flexible and sweet; and he flung over the
 of this fine judicial figure the garb of a
 at once dignified and attractive. They
 ver had seen Lord Thurlow, might well
 they had heard him, if they enjoyed access
 excellent imitators as George IV. and
 Holland. As perfect a substitute for Lord
 old's manner was to be found in Lord
 , between whom and that celebrated person
 ng prevailed a great intimacy founded upon
 icere mutual admiration.

enefits conferred by this accomplished judge
 e Court where he so long presided, and
 ts suitors, were manifold and substantial.
 an by at once so regulating the distribution
 usiness, as to remove all uncertainty of the
 which should be taken up each day, and to
 h both the expense and the delay and the
 on of former times. He restored to the
 ar the privilege of moving in turn, instead
 ning this to the last day of the term. He
 abolished the tedious and costly practice of
 the same case argued several times over,

restricting such rehearings to questions of real difficulty and adequate importance. He gave as many hours to the business both of Banc and of sittings as was required for dispatching it without unnecessary delay. The ascendant which he gained over the Bar and the Bench precluded all needless prolixity of argument, all unseemly wrangling between the Court and the counsel, all inconvenient differences of opinion among the Judges. The result was, that while no time was wasted, great satisfaction was given by the clear and rational grounds upon which the decisions were rendered while the cases were so speedily and so efficiently dispatched, that the other Courts of Common Law were drained of their business without the chance of the Court of King's Bench being choked up and overflowing. For nearly thirty years there were not more than half a dozen cases in which the Judges differed, and not so many in which judgments pronounced were reversed.

But during a considerable period Lord Mansfield also presided in the House of Lords, or, as a member of that body, directed its decisions on appeals. Nothing could be more satisfactory than his conduct of this very important department, nor anything less resembling one at least of his most eminent successors, Lord Eldon, in discharging this duty. He was master of each case when it was called on for hearing, and put the counsel to an

which he > e on either side in those
ly prepared printed statements, which Lord
ed to treat with the attention due to equal
waste paper. But he did not prevent any
s from being raised at the bar, any more
could wish to prevent any new arguments
g urged in support of the points which the
ases disclosed. He showed, too, as great
and vigour in forming his judgment,
upon questions of foreign law, as he did
ing the conduct of the arguments, although
ids of the advocates accustomed to some-
lix statements. Where he was clearly
that the Scotch Judges had mistaken
law, he did not scruple to reverse their
and restore the violated purity of the
though in doing so he assumed to correct
had made it the study of their lives ;
heads peculiar to Scottish jurisprudence,
the English law affords no parallel, and
he could derive no light at all from his
ssional habits. It was he who reversed
on of the Court of Session upon the cele-
intreath case ; which, as ruled by him,
as much the corner-stone of the Scotch
ail, as Shelly's case does that of England ;
e all lawyers are now agreed that he was
ay fairly be doubted whether some of his
, and especially Lord Eldon, would have

ventured to overrule some other judgments the Scottish Courts had equally gone as to applying their own law, had not Lord Mansfield shown the salutary courage which he displayed in that first and most remarkable reversal. It is not easy to overrate the importance of such a bold and judicious administration of the power in the High Court of Appeal. Encumbered as this tribunal is with so many difficulties from the complexity of the law which it must needs administer, and without those aids from the Judges, which it has derived from the far better known and more settled system of English jurisprudence, nothing can preserve the purity of our judicial system, or retain it in the respect and affection of the Scottish people, except a succession of such able, enlightened, and determined Judges as Lord Mansfield in the High Court ever proved himself to be.

Upon all common cases where a Judge has no possible reason for leaning towards one side rather than another in a country where bribery or solicitation is unknown, no partiality or strict justice can ever be committed except to the temper of the individual, or his weakness towards particular practitioners. Occasionally there arise questions in our Courts, especially in the King's Bench, the first tribunal of the realm, where political considerations mix themselves with the trial, and where

reflects p
 ces—ques-
 tions, the occurrence
 ould have made
 the placing a Lord
 in the cabinet a
 grievous breach of th
 in 1806, although
 there had been no o
 ns ust that most
 reprehensible proc
 That Lord Mansfield
 was no longer the
 pattern of living justice,
 the same *les loquens* on those occasions, has been
 very generally affirm
 ; and although the errors
 of his enemies, espec
 ally of Junius, have been long
 since exploded, there is little room to doubt that in
 trials for libel he leant against the freedom of dis-
 cussion, and favoured those doctrines long current,
 but now cried down by statute, which withdrew the
 cognizance of the question from the Jury to vest it
 in the Court. That he felt the same disgust at
 newspaper attacks upon individuals, the same dis-
 like of vehement and unmeasured invectives against
 the abuses of our institutions, the same alarm at
 assaults upon the existing institutions themselves,
 which in all ages have distinguished all our judges,
 may readily be admitted. Who will pretend, even
 in our days, far more before Mr. Fox's Libel Act,
 that Lord Mansfield alone of all judges defined the
 liberty of the press only as a power of publishing
 without a previous licence? In this, as in all his
 opinions and prejudices upon the subject, he re-
 sembled all other judges of all former times, and,
 with very few exceptions, those also of our own day.

But that he should ever betray his prejudices feelings in any breach of justice while trying particular cases, would have been eminently inconsistent with the whole tenor of his cautious and circumspect demeanour upon the bench, and have betokened want of that self-command which in him was habitual as to have become truly a second nature. His leaning towards the side of authority was more than once remarked in cases of importance, but where both the legal principle and the practical were far from being clearly settled. Thus upon application for a mandamus to the justices to issue an order of filiation upon a foreign ambassador's secretary, he somewhat hastily refused it, supposed the motion to be a device for obtaining the court's opinion, and an attempt to draw it into collision with foreign states. This view was manifestly assisted by the counsel who moved; and Mr. Justice Yates took part with them. In the end Mr. Mansfield gave way, and the remedy was granted as sought. But it must be observed, that the judge present, Mr. Justice Aston, at first concurred with the Chief Justice, and only changed his opinion upon further consideration, being persuaded by the reasoning of the dissenting judge. An objection was likewise taken to his directing a verdict in the case of Lord Grosvenor's action for seduction against the Duke of Cumberland, that the rank and station of the plaintiff made no difference

to damage ; an opinion which, after the experience of later times in such proceedings, appears as soon as it is stated to be altogether wrong, but which, if it favoured the Prince who was plaintiff on the one hand, certainly indicated, on the other, a sufficient respect for the equal rights of all classes of plaintiffs, and might be as unpopular to the Aristocracy as it was pleasing to the

people. There needs little to be said of what at the time of this great discussion in the profession, the judgment which he delivered in the celebrated case of *Shelley v. Blake*. That it was erroneous, no lawyer would doubt ; but that it required all the adherence to principle of which the most technical mind is susceptible, to apply in such a question the Rule in *Shelley's* case, is equally certain : in order to make that application, and to counterbalance the triumph of the Rule, it was necessary for the court to construe a man's will giving an estate "for the life of the devisee, and no longer," as if that estate to him in tail, consequently as if he had the power of at once converting his interest into a fee simple. Although it is impossible to say what this is the true legal construction of such a will, if, as in the case of *J. Williams's* will, the remainder is afterwards given to the heirs of the testator's body ; for to hold otherwise would be to contradict the rule in *Shelley's* case, which is both

founded on strict legal principles, and has for centuries been the corner-stone of English conveyancing : yet it is fit that we keep in mind the apparent paradox to which it led, in order to account for so great a judge as Lord Mansfield having leant against this application, which he regarded as an extension of the Rule ; and from which his wise and wholesome habit of always as much as possible preferring substance to technicality made him deviate. It must also be observed, that here, as in the former instance, he had the concurrence of his learned brethren, excepting only Mr. Justice Yates, whose difference of opinion led to his leaving the Court of King's Bench, and removing to the Common Pleas for the very short residue of his truly respectable and useful life.* But an accident of the most unimportant kind made more talk in Westminster Hall than all the real merits of either the judges or the cause. It appeared that while at the bar Lord Mansfield's opinion had been taken upon the point raised by this very will, and that he had said, as he ought to have said, "The devisee tal-

* This able, learned, and upright judge showed a court greatly extolled in those times, but which, it is to be hoped, every member of the bench would now display as a matter of course. The Minister having tampered with him in a way previous to some trial involving rights of the Crown, the King was foolish or wicked enough to write him a letter, and he returned it unopened. Alderman Townsend stated this in Parliament, and it was not contradicted.

state fail, ly nance,
 ever read the remarks . Boo . Fearit.
 other conveyances to ng circum-
 se, and not marvel at tl p y and cap-
 mens, so little worth and able
 : What if Mr. Murray's opinion diff d from
 l Mansfield's judgm it? It would not have
 ed the judgment to have been wrong; and if
 counsellor had given what on more mature
 beration, and after hearing the case argued by
 the learning of the bar, the Judge deemed an
 neous opinion, was he to sacrifice his duty of
 ding by his conscience at the time, to an un-
 thy fear of appearing inconsistent? If his
 tion had undergone a change, was he not to
 w it? Nay, was it any shame to change his
 tion upon hearing the subject for the first time
 y discussed?

The ridiculous charge brought by Junius and
 ns against his direction to the jury on the
 ne Circuit, in a case of trespass between two
 own individuals, and where no possible motive
 partiality could be imagined or was ever pre-
 led, we hardly perhaps should mention, were it
 an illustration of the outcry which absolute
 orance may sometimes succeed in raising. It
 the case of *Mears v. Ansell*, which was tried
 re him on the circuit, in 1772; and a new trial
 granted by the Common Pleas on the ground

founder

cer

one

137

Justice had improperly directed the testimony of two subscribing attorneys to their signed attestation, that "a new disgrace of Mansfield;" his published letter, with profound ignorance of the whole practice of the courts, mentioned it as a proof of extraordinary dissatisfaction with the summing up, that the new trial was granted without the payment of costs; adding, "that the usual terms were thus dispensed with." The same *learned* note adds, that the plaintiff's attorney moved the next term to have his name struck off the Roll of the King's Bench attorneys, and that "he was immediately admitted into the Common Pleas;" a mere matter of course, as every one but Junius must have known.

As to Junius's charge of illegal conduct in bailing a felon taken with the mainour, his celebrated letter betrays as great ignorance of the most commonly known matters of law (*e. g.* that Justices of Peace are at sessions Judges of Record, and are King's justices) as it does confusion in argument, and vacillation through legal ignorance, and uncertainty about the grounds on which he rests his charge. Indeed, he himself shifted them in defending his first argument; and it was at the time universally allowed that he was altogether in the wrong. Lord Camden was said at first to have agreed with him; but that he abandoned so un-

ble a gro] fr his never once,
 gh called upon, vent | to touch the subject.
 when he had valia tly c ounced impeach-
 t against the Chief Justice for this bail case,
 h after the manner of Cobbett and others in
 e times, this writer charged him with gross
 ality in reversing the decree against Lord
 them upon the suit arising out of the Burton
 sent devise; and after this reversal had been
 adiciously ascribed to corrupt favour, towards
 political antagonist too, when the matter was
 ined, it was found that the Commissioners
 he Great Seal had only considered one point,
 on that had made their decree, whereas there
 ined another point decisive of the matter,
 h way soever the former might be determined.
 n this new point the Judges were consulted,
 upon this they were unanimous for the appeal,
 ough upon the others they differed; so that a
 rsal of the decree was almost a matter of course,
 it was much rather the act of the Judges than
 ord Mansfield. Junius being overthrown by
 plain and incontrovertible statement, had the
 age to treat it as a quibble only worthy of a
 ister (Letter LXIII.), although he had himself
 re explicitly said, that he was at issue with
 l Mansfield's defenders on the question, whether
 ot he (Lord Mansfield) had given any opinion
 he case in the House of Lords, and "that this

was a question of fact to be determined by
dence only." (Letter LXI.)

These things are far indeed from being
important. They affect essentially the qu
judicial reputation. They show upon w
of grounds the fabric of a great man's pr
fame, as well as the purity of his moral c
were assailed by the unprincipled violence
at the instigation of their ignorance, sku
hind a signature made famous by epig
language and the boldness of being ventu
the person of a printer who gained by
dastardly slander to act through him wi
rious courage. They tend to reduce the
of such an author's value as much as they
reputation of those whom, from his lurki
he had assailed; and they read a memorial
to the people, if upon such subjects the pe
can be taught, not to repose confidence
who are unknown against men whose w
are passed in the face of open day, and
constant security of personal responsibili
let it be forgotten upon what flimsy pret
country was required to embark in a perse
Lord Mansfield. Nor let it cease to be rem
that upon such grounds as we have been
the most popular writers of the day were s
call him "cowardly"—"cunning"—"d
—"a juggler"—"a bad man and a worse."

a creature at one time hateful, at another con-
 ceivable"—"one meriting every term of reproach
 and every idea of detraction the mind can form"—
 a cunning Scotchman, who never speaks truth
 without a fraudulent design"—"a man of whom it
 is affirmed, with the most solemn appeal to God,
 that he is the very worst and most dangerous man
 in the kingdom."* But it turned out afterwards
 that the same anonymous writer, who, while he
 wore the mask of Junius, almost ever praised Lord
 Chatham, had under other disguises assailed him as
 severely as he had his antagonists; and his rancorous
 abuse of the great patriot does all but outstrip his
 fiercer assaults upon the venerable judge. He
 (Lord Chatham) is described as "not a man of
 fixed character, whose vice might be redeemed by
 the appearance of virtue and generosity, but a
 man purely and perfectly bad." It is said we may
 truly foretell "the progress of such a traitor, and
 the probable event of his crimes," since he led "a
 life of artifice, intrigue, hypocrisy, and impudence;"
 a career "which equally violates every principle of
 honour and morality"—"an abandoned profligate"
 —"so black a villain, that though we have no
 Carpeian rock, yet a gibbet is not too honourable
 a situation for the carcase of a traitor"—"a base
 postate"—"the stalking-horse of a stallion" (Lord
 Bute)—"below contempt"—"a venomous reptile"

* Junius's Letters, xli. lix. lxiii. lxix.

—"a lunatic"—and "a raving madman." * " great gravamen, too, of these charges against him is his leaning towards the Americans, of whom this furious, shallow, and conceited writer was a bit and intemperate opponent, as he was a big advocate of the mother-country's tyranny.

It may surely be said with justice, that such closures as these, while they reduce to their true level the claims of Junius to fame, easily account for the author having died and kept his own secret. He appears to have been a person in whose bosom every fierce and malignant passion raged without the control of a sound judgment, and without a kindly feeling to attemper his nature. Writing at a time when good or even correct composition was little studied, and in the newspapers hardly ever met with, his polished style, though very far from being a correct one, and farther still from good pure English, being made the vehicle of abuse, sarcasm, and pointed invective, naturally excited a degree of attention which was further maintained by the boldness of his proceedings. No man could read a page of any letter without perceiving that the writer has but one way of handling every subject, and that he constructs his sentences with the sole design of saying the most bitter things he can in the most striking way, without ever regarding

* Miscellaneous Letters, published by Woodfall (1811) vol. ii.

least degree : being applicable or inapplicable to the object of the attack. The consequence is that the greater part of his invective will justly fall on one bad man or wicked minister as well as another. It is highly probable that whoever he might be, he had often attacked those with whom he lived on intimate terms, or to whom he was under obligations. This is an additional reason for his dying unrevealed. That he was neither Lord Ashburton, nor any other lawyer, is proved by what we have said of his gross ignorance of law. To hold that he was Mr. Francis is libelling that gentleman's memory ; and although much external evidence concurs in pointing towards him, he certainly never wrote anything of the same kind in his private character.

But those charges made against Lord Mansfield's judicial conduct were definite and precise. Others were urged of a kind so vague, that it was impossible distinctly to apprehend or pointedly to meet them. He was accused of encroaching upon the sanctity of the common law, by making his views subordinate to general notions of substantial justice. That he was always anxious to get at the body of the case, to deal with it so as to give merited success to the doubtful right, is admitted ; and in sometimes neglecting the dictates of technical rules, when they obstructed his path towards substantial justice, he might possibly overlook the great advantage

having a fixed rule applicable to all cases; advantages well worth the unavoidable price which must be paid for them in the occasional hardship, or even apparent absurdity, that may attend their inflexible application. But when the same objection is advanced to his introducing rules universally applicable, and choosing those which are more consistent with common sense and liberal feeling than with merely technical analogy, we are bound to rise from the criticism with indignation. By this course he was improving our jurisprudence, and not encroaching upon its principles; nor was the certainty of the law in any way impaired by establishing rules upon an enlarged basis.

That he was fond of drawing over equitable notions from the Courts in which he had been chiefly trained, and applying them to the consideration of legal matters, is the same objection in another form. Some of the most valuable parts of our common-law remedies are derived from Equity; witness the action for money had and received, and indeed the action of *Indebitatus assumpsit* generally: and special pleaders never saw a bill or an answer, but when they were used in evidence at *nisi prius*, such men as Justice Chambre, (among the first ornaments of the profession, as among the most honest and amiable of men,) have shown their sense of the advantage thus gained to the common law by reminding of

less learned men, like Lord Chief Justice Gibbs, his circumstance, when they grounded their argument upon the position that the point they attacking was one of an equitable, and not of legal consideration. As for the clamour (and it is nothing more than clamour, and ignorant clamour, too) that Lord Mansfield was making the Saxon principles of our jurisprudence bend to those of the Civil Law, it is wholly marvellous that of any understanding or education should have been found so much the slaves of faction as to raise it. Lord Mansfield at no period of his life ever had, or could have had, the least predilection for the civil law, arising from any familiarity with its institutions. He never was a Scotch advocate at all; or if he was, it must have been in the infancy, for he left Scotland at three years of age. In the Consistorial Courts, if by their practice the Civil Law is meant, he had necessarily very little intercourse.* Chancery has nothing to do with that system unless in so far as it prefers the practice of written depositions to *vivâ voce* examinations; and also in so far as every rational system of jurisprudence must necessarily have much to do with it. It would, in our times, have been impossible for him to have any practice at all in these courts unless in cases of appeal, formerly before the Delegates, now in the Privy Council. But when Lord Mansfield was at the bar, it was the custom for common lawyers to attend important cases in the House of Commons. This, however, was of rare occurrence.

in common with the most perfect structure that ever was formed of rules for classifying rights and marshalling the remedies for wrongs. Nor is anything to be found in all the train of his decisions which betokens more leaning towards the Roman code than a regard for the enlarged and universal principles of abstract justice sanctioned, if it does not prescribe. Yet could the most popular writers of the day, those, too, whose pretences even to legal learning were the most obtrusive, denounce the Chief Justice as engaged in a deliberate plot to reduce slavery to system, "by making the Roman code the law of nations, and the opinion of foreign civilians his perpetual theme," after the example "the Norman lawyers, who made the Norman Conquest complete;" and as thus "corrupting by such treacherous arts the noble simplicity and firm spirit of our Saxon laws." * Ignorance cannot surely go beyond this point. The civil law, which became hostile to liberty through the imperial position of it introduced by the Emperors, and which made the will of the Prince the law of the land. In no other particular is it at variance with freedom; and who ever dreamt that Lord Mansfield had the power of introducing that portion, let his inclination have been ever so much bent in such a direction?

But this topic leads us to the political character

* Junius's Letters, No. xli.

brought against this great magistrate. Not only for his fame as well as for his tranquility continued to mix in politics after he was in the service of the crown as an adviser.

He not only acted as Speaker of the House of Lords for above a year, but for a much longer time he had a seat in the cabinet, and took the business of government, all the more weighty in his position, that it was much more open and avowed.

The Great Seal was in commission previously to Bathurst's obtaining it as Chancellor, and Mansfield was, to all political intents and purposes, the Chancellor, without having the reputation of that high office: nor did he less act as an actual adviser of the government, when that was in the hands of a somewhat feeble individual, more than he filled the place. The vice of the Chief Justice's character was a want of boldness, that made him shrink from personal responsibility. He never would accept the first station in the law, and hence, too, he was believed to have advised many things, which he either had not advised, or had only passively suffered; for, when a statesman acquires the evil reputation of irresponsibility while he seeks power, there is no venturing the world from tracing every misdeed to its source which appears to hide itself only to conceal.

He wanted more nerve than once appeared

nor could be said to do otherwise. His language of rebuke and refusal was in accordance with the popular demands.

His character in private life was as pure as his public life. He never had any children, but his life was without a stain. His choice of friends was in the polished society of literary men and of the arts; and his powers of intellect were extolled in all the traditions that were current in the present age, as of a very high order. His manners were polished and winning, and his life was believed from the impression his presence uniformly made. But when to this was added his great and various knowledge, his energy available to the uses of society, his high moral and mild temper, his love of his country, his power of contributing to the public good, and his power of contributing to the amusement and classical wit, it is not difficult to see what the reports mean which were made of him as fascinating beyond almost any man of his time. Through a vigorous and active life, in which no excess of any kind, in any direction, had ever made inroads, he lived to the age of eighty, dying from exhausted nature. He presided in court regularly to the eighty-second year, and resigned his office in the eighty-fourth, having continued in office for two or three years longer than he was able to have done or could discharge.

ope of prevailing with the ministry to appoint his favourite Judge Buller his successor. But Mr. Pitt, while at the bar, had seen things in that able and unscrupulous magistrate which made him resolve that no such infliction should fall on the English bench ; and it is to his virtuous resolution that the reference of Lord Kenyon was due, which Lord Thurlow always arrogated to himself.

It has become the more necessary to dwell at some length upon the history of this great man, because a practice has prevailed of late years in the profession which he adorned, and even upon the bench which he so much more than any of his predecessors illustrated, of treating him with much less respect than is his due. The narrow minds of little men cannot expand even to the full apprehension of that excellence with which superior natures are gifted, or which they have by culture attained. They are sufficiently susceptible, however, of envious feelings to begrudge virtue the admiration which it has justly earned ; and jealous that any portion of applause should be drawn away from the many technicalities of their own obscure walk, they **are** at some trifling slips which may have been made in the less weighty matters of the law, the only portions their understandings can grasp. It **has** thus grown into a kind of habit with some men, **very** respectable in their own department, to decry Lord Mansfield as no lawyer, to speak lightly of his

decisions, and to gratulate themselves that they have not intruded yet greater changes into the legal system by further departure from strict precedent. A more enlarged view even of the rigour of our jurisprudence, will at once brush these notions away, and show the truth of a position even if it be only by the vulgar, both gowned and ungowned. Great minds may be as correct in details, but are less fit to deal with the most general principles.

OLD CHIEF JUSTICE GIBBS.

as of the inferior though able men to
 have just referred, the late Sir Vicary
 is certainly among the most eminent ; and
 the perfections of the order, and more
 ordinary share of its faults. It is a great
 admitted only by those who view them from
 to imagine that their learning is of a con-
 cre, either in their own profession or in
 nches of education. They are in no
 ere special pleaders, or men familiar only
 practice of the courts. They are even
 expects not to be termed mere lawyers.

acquainted with the whole of the law,
 ey have studied accurately, and might
 dmitted to have studied profoundly, if
 be predicated of those researches, which,
 ely dreading to penetrate the more stub-
 more deep-lying vein of first principle,
 rry the labourer towards the shallower
 bed that contains the relics of former
 and make him rest satisfied with these
 as the guide and the rule. All that has

decisions, and to gratulate themselves that he not intrude yet greater changes into our legal system by further departure from strict rules. A more enlarged view even of the rigorous doctrine of our jurisprudence, will at once brush these away, and show the truth of a position ever denied by the vulgar, both gowned and ungowned, that great minds may be as correct in details, as powerful to deal with the most general principles.

ORD CHIEF JUSTICE GIBBS.

a class of the inferior though able men to
 we have just referred, the late Sir Vicary
 was certainly among the most eminent ; and
 and all the perfections of the order, and more
 the ordinary share of its faults. It is a great
 r, committed only by those who view them from
 off, to imagine that their learning is of a con-
 d nature, either in their own profession or in
 er branches of education. They are in no
 pect mere special pleaders, or men familiar only
 h the practice of the courts. They are even
 some respects not to be termed mere lawyers.
 ey are acquainted with the whole of the law,
 ich they have studied accurately, and might
 o be admitted to have studied profoundly, if
 pth can be predicated of those researches, which,
 tinctively dreading to penetrate the more stub-
 rn and more deep-lying vein of first principle,
 ways carry the labourer towards the shallower
 d softer bed that contains the relics of former
 rkme! and make him rest satisfied with these
 tterns as the guide and the rule. All that ha

been said or written, however, by text-men or judges, they know; and of it all, much practice has given them great expertness in the application. Then their education has not been confined to one matter of law. It has indeed been far from a very enlarged one; nor has it brought them into a familiar acquaintance with the scenes which expand the mind, make it conscious of new powers, and lead to compare, and expatiate, and explore. Yet this course of instruction not been without value; for they are generally well versed in classical literature, and often acquainted with mathematical science. From the one, however, they derive little beside the polish which it communicates and the taste which it refines; from the other, they only gain a love of strict and inflexible rules, with a disinclination towards the relaxations and allowances prescribed by the diversities of moral evidence. From both they gather a profound deference for all that has been said or done before them, an exclusive veneration for antiquity and a pretty unsparing contempt for the unlettered and unpolished class which form and ever must form the great bulk of mankind in all communities. A disrespect for all foreign nations and their institutions has long been another appointed fruit of the same tree; and it has been in proportion to the overweening fondness for everything in their own system, whether of polity or of mere knowledge.

long interruption of all intercourse with the West during the late war had greatly increased these narrow and absurd prejudices, which were somewhat more nearly brought back to the ancient level. But still the precise dictates of English statutes, and the dicta of English judges and English text-writers, are with them the standard of right; and in their vocabulary, English law is such a synonyme for the perfection of wisdom as that of Dean Swift's imaginary kingdom, which was for the "perfection of nature."

Lawyers who belong to this class, by far the numerous in the profession, it is also a great mistake to suppose that the talents are confined to legal matters, the discussion of dry points, the conduct of suits according to technical rules. Many of them are subtle and most able lawyers; some even powerful reasoners. As admirable a display of logical acumen, in long and unbroken chains of pure ratiocination, is frequently exhibited among their ranks as can be seen in the arguments of any department of rhetoric, or the solutions of any branch of science. They often make high pretences to eloquence, and, without losing its first rank, are frequently distinguished by great powers of speech, as well as extraordinary skill in the management of business. Their legal education, however, is the chief object of their study; and in their pursuit of oratory, they aim far

more at being eloquent lawyers than of being learned in the law. Hence their estimate of professional merit is all formed on the same principle and graduated by one scale. They undervalue the accomplishments of the rhetorician, without despising them; and they are extremely suspicious of any enlarged or general views upon so serious a subject as the law. Change, they with difficulty can bring their minds to believe possible; at least any change for the better: and speculation and theory on such matters is so much an object of distrust, or rather of mingled contempt and derision, that when they would describe anything unusual, or even anomalous in the profession, they cannot go beyond what they call "a speculative lawyer." To expect success in such a one's career was formerly thought absurd. But the triumph of Sir Samuel Romilly was a sore stumbling-block to technical minds. A free-thinker upon legal matters, if ever any existed; accomplished, learned, eloquent, philosophical; he rose to the very head of his profession, and compelled them to believe what Erskine had failed to make them admit—that a man may be minutely learned in all the mere niceties of the law, and to the very meanest details of court practice, and yet be able to soar above the higher level of general speculation, and to charm by his eloquence and enlighten by his enlarged wisdom, as much

able the Bench and head the Bar by his merel, nical superiority.

he professional character of the men whom we discussing is generally pure and lofty ; the r to which they belong is sacred in their eyes ; ame, its dignity, even to its etiquette, must all ept unsullied ; and whatever may be their pre- es and their habits, political or professional, great soever their deference to power, how ound their veneration for the bench, how deep- ed their attachment to existing institutions, fierce their hostility to all innovations, how e or how scornful their frown upon the mul- e at large, yet is their courage undaunted in ding whatever client may entrust his suit to

patronage, be he a rabble-leader or a treason- er, a libeller or a blasphemer ; and in dis- ing towards him the high duties of their re- tative character, they so little regard either entment of the government or the anger of urt, that they hardly are conscious of any n sacrificing every personal consideration performance of their representative, and it is representative, their eminently im- office.

men whom we have now endeavoured to s a class, Sir Vicary Gibbs was a perfect Endowed by nature with great acuteness limited power of application, he became,

to use his own somewhat unseemly
 towards as considerable a man as
 more amiable one, "as good a la-
 of man can be." Disciplined
 classical education, the fruits of
 him to the last, and somewhat re-
 favourite pursuits of Cambridge
 always correct, and his reasoning
 considerable as they ever can be
 narrow range. To eloquence he
 derate pretences; yet was his
 gurgled out rather than flowed, or
 clear and transparent, owning a
 pure, if somewhat shallow, and ex-
 numerous, not original, not fe-
 not brought up from the lower
 yet suited to each occasion, well
 made easily accessible to others
 portion in which they were cor-
 by himself. His legal arguments
 to be admired. He did not go
 on from point to point, garnish-
 two observations, as many citations
 many cases; so that the whole ar-
 without breadth or relief, and ex-
 seem as much as any other the
 the conclusion turned—but he
 governing principle roundly and
 forward his leading idea by which

unlocked and ruled ; he used his master-key at first, and used it throughout, till he had unlocked the apartments by which he mounted to the 11th Chamber, and he left the closets untouched, so that they who followed him might, if they chose, be their time in picking the locks, or lose their way in the dark bye-passages. It might be said of him, as he said himself of Sir James Mansfield, that " he declared the law," while he argued cases ; and while others left only the impression on the hearer that many authorities had been cited, much reading displayed, his argument penetrated into the mind, and made it assent to his conclusions, without much regarding the support they derived from other quarters. But he was also a very considerable person at *Nisi Prius*. His exact and easy knowledge of all legal matters shone here by no means his only superiority. He was ready in dealing with evidence ; he could present to the Jury the facts of his case boldly and with high relief ; though he was wholly unable to appeal to the feelings, and never dreamt of addressing the feelings or the passions, any more than if he were speaking to mummies without any sensation, much less any feelings or passions to address ; yet he could, especially when clothed with the dignity of his official station, deliver himself with considerable emphasis, though without any fluency, and could effect the purpose of impressing the facts

which he showed,—nay, was not exceeded even the manly boldness which won for that leader most imperishable of all his titles to the admiration and gratitude of mankind.

The general narrowness of Sir Vicary Gibbs' mind has been marked; but on the side of vanity and self-conceit it was out of proportion to its dimensions in other parts. It always seemed as if no one could do anything to please him, save a single individual; and *his* performances were rated at the most exorbitant value. Nay, the opinion of the favoured personage he estimated so highly, that there always lay an appeal to him from the bench as well as from every other authority; and it was sometimes truly laughable to observe the weight which he attached to a single sentence or a word from one with whom he was ever so entirely satisfied. On a certain trial he had occasion to mention some recent victories of Lord Wellington's army in the Peninsula, and had named three battles with praise not very lavish, because every word was deemed of inestimable value, but had omitted Busaco; he corrected himself very ostentatiously and went back to include that fight, with the feeling manifest to all who heard him, that real and irreparable, possibly fatal injury would be done the troops, had the momentary omission unhappily not been supplied. When he came among the heads of the law, whether in his own court or

and meet the twelve, even while
pulsive judge, he arrogated the place and
due to the chief of the whole; and when
made first Chief Baron and afterwards Chief
Justice, there were no bounds to his contempt for
opinions of all his brethren, although it is
undeniable fact that he was not nearly so much
valued for the soundness of his opinions upon
much as he had been for the excellence of his
arguments at the bar. In trials at *Nisi Prius* he
was distinguished for the little and peevish temper
predominated in him, often to the seeming
defect of his judgment, almost always to the detri-
ment of his judicial powers; and so absolutely was
convinced of his own universal capacity, and
universal unfitness of others, that it was no un-
common thing for him to ask, somewhat roughly,
counsel's brief, that he might see what was
needed to be stated; then lecture the attorney
who had prepared it; soon after the witnesses;
down to the officers of the court, whose func-
tion of keeping silence and order he would occa-
sionally himself undertake to perform. So that it
was not an uncommon remark that the learned
Justice was performing at once, in his own
person, the offices of judge and jury, counsel for
parties, attorneys for both, witnesses on both
sides and crier of the court. To the same con-
spiracy was owing his much graver offence of

parading rash opinions upon branches with which the previous habits of his life brought him very familiarly acquainted of forming hasty judgments upon matters he was more accustomed. Certain it is were decisions, both of his own at *Nisi* afterwards of the Court in Banc, which assisted in forcing upon his brethren, and little credit to any of the parties concerned.

The survey which has just been taken of an eminent counsellor does not show him in the highest places in his profession ; and to follow him into the House of Commons would be very great indeed. There he would be out of place at all ; and feeling his nullity, the place to which he was with more visible force dragged by the power that office gives him over its lawyers. He could not be heard upon legal questions, and those not with such felicity or force as reputation of the listener. He seldom more than to go through the reference of an act of parliament to another ; and though doing only a mechanical work, he gave sentence as if he had been consulted like an oracle, and looked and spoke as if citing a section he was making a discovery. When Mr. Perceval was shot, his nerves, for

silent, such as he had him; and he ascended from the seat of Attorney-General to that of a Puisne Judge in the Common Pleas. Of his political principles, which were quite tolerant and quite sincere, mention has already been made. To the cause of reform, in all shapes and under what name soever, he was the bitter enemy. Towards all who engaged in free discussion, whether of men or of nations he was an implacable adversary. To Peel therefore, engaged a large share of his dislike; and under the combined influence of exasperation and alarm he had so many *ex officio* informations in a few months, that no two attorney-generals ever in a long course of years loaded the files of the court with as many. It was his truly painful fortune that, as most of these regarded the attacks on the Duke of York, he was compelled soon to withdraw them all; while in several of the others he was defeated; and partly by his excessive use of the power, partly by his failure in the exercise of it, he had the agony, to him most excruciating, of being signally defeated in his attempts to crush the press, and of causing all the discussions of the *ex officio* power which first brought it into vogue and then into disuse.

This is that successful barrister, that skilful social pleader, that acute lawyer on common points, that dexterous and expert practitioner, (for

all this he was, as certainly as he was a little-minded man)—this is he whom the men that condemn Lord Erskine, and look down upon Lord Mansfield, and would fain, if they durst, raise their small voices against Sir Samuel Romilly, hold up as the pattern of an English lawyer.

SIR WILLIAM GRANT.

contemplating the figure of the eminent narrow-minded lawyer whom we have been viewing, we turn to that of his far more contemporaneous, Sir William Grant, we shall find with some marked resemblances, chiefly in his opinions and exaggerated dread of change, marked diversity in all the more important aspects of character, whether intellectual or moral. We have now named in some respects the most extraordinary individual of his time—one certainly whom none ever better sustained the judicial functions, though its functions were administered by him upon a somewhat contracted scale—one than whom none ever descended from the forum into the street with more extraordinary powers of argumentation, or flourished there with greater renown. It happened to this great judge to have been for many years at the bar with a very moderate share in practice; and although his parliamentary exertions never tore him away from his profession, yet his public character rested entirely upon them until he was raised to the bench. The genius of the man then shone forth with

extraordinary lustre. His knowledge of law, which had hitherto been scanty and never enlarged by practice, was now expanded to whatever dimensions might seem required for performing his high office; nor was he ever remarked as at all deficient even in the branch most difficult to master without forensic habits, the accomplishments of a case-lawyer; while his familiarity with the principles of jurisprudence and his knowledge of their foundations were ample as his application of them was easy and masterly. The Rolls Court, however, in those days was one of comparatively contracted business; and although he gave the most entire satisfaction there, and in presiding at the Privy Council in Prize and Plantation Appeals, a doubt was always raised by the admirers of Lord Eldon, whether Sir William Grant could have as well answered the larger demands upon his judicial resources, had he presided in the Court of Chancery. That doubt appeared altogether unfounded. He possessed the first quality for dispatching business (the "*real*" and not "*affected dispatch*" of Lord Bacon), a power of steadily fixing his attention upon the matter before him, and keeping it invariably directed towards the successive arguments addressed to him. The certainty that not a word was lost deprived the advocate of all excuse for repetition; while the respect which his judge inspired checked needless prolixity, and deterred him from raising desperate

arely to have them frowned down by a as severe as it was patient. He had not apprehend any interruption—that was never practised in those days at the Rolls cockpit; but while the judge sat passive and, it was plain that though his powers of force had no limits, his powers of discrimination were ever active as his attention was ever and as it required an eminent hardihood to be coin before so scrutinizing an eye, or right money to be weighed in such accurate Sir William Grant's; so few men ventured to see a patience which yet all knew to be ad. It may, indeed, be fairly doubted the main force of muscular exertion, so more clumsily applied by Sir John Leach in the court to effect the great object of his the close compression of the debate—ever did so well, or reduced the mass to as small as the delicate hydraulic press of his illustredecessor did, without giving the least the advocate, or in any one instance ing the course of calm, deliberate, and ad justice.

court in those days presented a spectacle afforded true delight to every person of dgment and pure taste. After a long and aring—a hearing of all that could be urged counsel of every party—unbroken by a

single word, and when the spectator of Sir Will Grant (for he was not heard) might suppose his mind had been absent from a scene in which took no apparent share, the debate was closed—advocate's hour was passed—the parties were silent expectation of the event—the hall no longer resounded with any voice—it seemed as if the affair of the day, for the present, was over, and the Court was to adjourn or to call for another cause. Now the judge's time had now arrived, and another artist was to fill the scene. The great Magistrate began to pronounce his judgment, and every eye and every ear was at length fixed upon the bench. Forth came a strain of clear unbroken fluency disposing alike, in most luminous order, of all the facts and of all the arguments in the case, reducing into clear and simple arrangement the most entangled masses of broken and conflicting statement; weighing each matter, and disposing of each in succession; settling one doubt by a periphrastical remark; passing over another difficulty with a reason only more decisive than it was condensed; and giving out the whole impression of the case in every material view, upon the judge's mind, with an argument enough to show why he so thought, and to prove him right, and without so much reason as to make you forget that it was a judgment, and not a speech, were hearing, by overstepping the bounds which distinguish a Judgment from a Speech. This

of Judicial Eloquence; not avoiding
 subtlety, but confining it to such reasoning as
 leads him who has rather to explain the grounds
 of a conviction, than to labour at convincing
 the jury; not rejecting reference to authority, but
 for behooving a disposition to seek shelter
 in other men's names, for what he might fear
 to pronounce in his own person; not disdaining
 ornaments, but those of the more chastened
 kind that accord with the severe standard of a
 judge's oratory. This perfection of judicial elo-
 quence Sir William Grant attained, and its effect
 on all listeners was as certain and as powerful as
 its merits were incontestable and exalted.

In parliament he is unquestionably to be classed
 with speakers of the first order. His style was
 secular; it was that of the closest and severest
 reasoning ever heard in any popular assembly:
 reasoning which would have been reckoned close
 as the argumentation of the bar or the dialectics of
 the schools. It was, from the first to the last,
 throughout, pure reason and the triumph of pure
 reason. All was sterling, all perfectly plain; there
 was no point in the diction, no illustration in the
 topics, no ornament of fancy in the accompaniments.
 The language was choice—perfectly clear, abun-
 dantly correct, quite concise, admirably suited to
 the matter which the words clothed and conveyed.
 As far as it was felicitous, no farther; nor did it

ever leave behind it any impression of the dicta but only of the things said; the words were forgotten, for they had never drawn off the attention for a moment from the things; those things were alone remembered. No speaker was more easily listened to; none so difficult to answer. On Mr. Fox, when he was hearing him with a view to making that attempt, was irritated in a way very unwonted to his sweet temper by the conversation of some near him, even to the showing some crossness, and (after an exclamation) sharply said, "Do you think it so very pleasant a thing to have to answer a speech like THAT?" The most memorable occasions on which this great reason was observed to be most injured by a reply, were in that of Mr. Wilberforce quoting Clarendon's remarks on the conduct of the judges in the *St. Money Case*, when Sir William Grant had undertaken to defend his friend Lord Melville; and that of Lord Lansdowne (then Lord Henry Petty) three years later, when the legality of the famous Orders in Council was debated. Here, however, the speech was made on one day, and the answerable and triumphant as it was, followed on the next.

It may safely be said that a long time will elapse before there shall arise such a light to illuminate either the Senate or the Bench, as the eminent person whose rare excellence we have just to

to contemplate. That excellence was no
 rited in its sphere; there was no imagina-
 vehemence, no declamation, no wit; but
 ce was the highest, and in that highest
 a place was lofty. The understanding
 s addressed by the understanding; the
 that distinguish our nature were those
 ch. the oratory of Sir William Grant
 its control. His sway over the rational
 lectual portion of mankind was that of a
 verful reason, a more vigorous intellect
 rs; a sway which no man had cause for
 named of admitting, because the victory
 by superior force of argument; a sway
 most dignified and exalted genius might
 out stooping from its highest pinnacle,
 some who might not deign to use inferior
 rsuasion could find no objection whatever
 e.

in this purely intellectual picture there
 o be noted a discrepancy, a want of keep-
 ething more than a shade. The com-
 intellect, the close reasoner, who could
 r other men's understanding by the supe-
 of his own, was the slave of his own pre-
 such an extent, that he could see only the
 evolution in any reformation of our insti-
 and never conceived it possible that the
 could be safe, or that anarchy could be

warded off, unless all things were maintained upon the same footing on which they stood in earlier unenlightened, and inexperienced ages of the world. The signal blunder, which Bacon long ago exposed of confounding the youth with the age of the species, was never committed by any one more glaring than by this great reasoner. He it was who first employed the well-known phrase of "the wisdom of our ancestors;" and the menaced innovation, to stop which he applied it, was the proposal of Samuel Romilly to take the step of reform almost imperceptibly small, of subjecting men's real property to the payment of all their debts. Strained force of early prejudice; of prejudice suffered to warp the intellect while yet feeble and uninformed, and which owed its origin to the very error that it embodied in its conclusions, the making the errors of mankind in their ignorant and inexperienced state the guide of their conduct at their mature age, and appealing to those errors as the wisdom of past times, when they were the unripe fruit of imperfect intellectual culture!

MR. BURKE.

contrast which Lord North presented to the
 our school of lawyer, presented a
 out of its order, the contrast was
 as representing the contrast
 as we were conducted, by the contrast (by
 association, as it were of course), to the
 model of a perfect judge in Sir William Grant.

time that we now return to the group of
 men collected round Lord North. His sup-
 ports being chiefly lawyers, we were obliged to
 see our incursion into Westminster Hall. When
 turn to his opponents, we emerge from the
 red obscurity of the black letter precincts to
 more cheerful, though not less contentious,
 ranks of political men; and the first figure which
 meets the eye is the grand form of Edmund
 Burke.

Now much soever men may differ as to the
 soundness of Mr. Burke's doctrines or the purity
 of his public conduct, there can be no hesitation
 according to him a station among the most ex-

traordinary persons that have ever appeared; it is there now any diversity of opinion as to the place which it is fit to assign him. He was a writer of the first class, and excelled in almost every kind of prose composition. Possessed of the most extensive knowledge, and of the most varied description; acquainted alike with what different classes of men knew, each in his own province, and with much that hardly any one ever thought of learning; he could either bring his masses of information to bear directly upon the subjects which they severally belonged—or he could avail himself of them generally to strengthen his facts and enlarge his views—or he could turn a portion of them to account for the purpose of illustrating his theme or enriching his dictation. Hence, when he is handling any one matter, we perceive that we are conversing with a reasoner, a teacher, to whom almost every other branch of knowledge is familiar. His views range over the cognate subjects; his reasonings are derived from principles applicable to other matters as well as the one in hand; arguments pour in from all sides, as well as those which start up under our feet, the natural growth of the path he is leading us over; while to throw light round our steps, either to explore its darker places or serve for recreation, illustrations are fetched from a thousand quarters; and an imagination marvellously quick



that conduce to it—ardour of purpose, sometimes rising into violence—vivid, but too luxuriant fancy—bold, frequently extravagant, conception—the faculty of shedding over mere inanimate scenes the light imparted by moral associations. He indulges in bitter invective, mingled with poignant wit, but descending often to abuse and even scurrility; he is apt moreover to carry an attack too far, as well as to strain the application of a principle; to slay the slain, or, dangerously for his purpose, to mingle the reader's contempt with pity.

As in the various kinds of writing, so in the different styles, he had an almost universal excellence, one only being deficient—the plain and unadorned. Not but that he could, in unfolding a doctrine, pursuing a narrative, write for a little with a admirable simplicity and propriety; only he could not sustain this self-denial; his brilliant imagination and well-stored memory soon broke through its restraint. But in all other styles, passages without end occur of the highest order—epigram—pathos—metaphor in profusion, chequered with more dactylic and sober diction. Nor are his purely figurative passages the finest even as figured writing; he is best when the metaphor is subdued, mixed with plainer matter to flavour it, and used not by itself, and for its own sake, but giving place to a more useful instrument, made of more ordinary material; or at the most, flung off by the heat

, like sparks from a working engine, for mere display. Speaking of the the 'Declaration of Right,' he calls whose penetrating style has engravedances and in our hearts the words and immortal law." * So, discoursing of as of natural magnitude by artifice and true artist should put a generous deceiver, and effect the noblest designs by is." † "When pleasure is over we indifference, or rather we fall into a lity, which is tinged with the agreeable he former sensation." ‡—"Every age manners, and its politics dependent on the same attempts will not be made onstitution fully formed and matured, ed to destroy it in the cradle, or resist during its infancy." §—"Faction will as resound through the nation, as if the in an uproar." || In works of a serious the affairs of real life, as political and orations, figurative style should go beyond this. But strict and close simile may be allowed, provided it

s on the French Revolution.

nd Beautiful, II. § 10.

3.

on the Causes of the Present Discontents.

be most sparingly used, and never deviate from the subject matter, so as to make that disappear in the ornament. "The judgment is for the greater part employed in throwing stumbling-blocks in the way of the imagination (says Mr. Burke), in dissipating the scenes of its enchantment, and in tying us down to the disagreeable yoke of our reason." * He has here at once expressed figuratively the principle we are laying down, and illustrated our remark by the temperance of his metaphors, which, though mixed, do not offend, because they come so near mere figurative language that they may be regarded, like the last set of examples, rather as forms of expression than tropes. "A great deal of the furniture of ancient tyranny is worn to rags; the rest is entirely out of fashion," †—a most apt illustration of his important position, that we ought to be jealous of little encroachments, now the chief sources of danger, as our ancestors were of 'Shibboleth Money' and the 'Forest Laws.' "A species of men (speaking of one constant and baneful effort of grievances), to whom a state of order would become a sentence of obscurity, are nourished into dangerous magnitude by the heat of intestine disturbances; and it is no wonder that, by a sort of sinister piety, they cherish, in return, those disor-

* Discourses on Taste.

† Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontent.

which are the parents of all their consequence."*
 "We have not (he says of the English Church Establishment) relegated religion to obscure municipalities or rustic villages—No! we will have her exalt her mitred front in courts and parliaments."† But if these should seem so temperate hardly to be separate figures, the celebrated comparison of the Queen of France, though going to the verge of chaste style, hardly passes it. "And truly, never lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more delightful vision. I saw just above the horizon, decorating and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in— glittering like the morning star, full of life and splendour and joy."‡

All his writings, but especially his later ones, abound in examples of the abuse of this style, in which, unlike those we have been dwelling upon with unmixed admiration, the subject is lost sight of, and the figure usurps its place, almost as much as in Homer's longer similes, and is oftentimes pursued not merely with extravagance and violence, but into details that offend by their coarseness, as well as their forced connexion with the matter at question. The comparison of a noble adversary to the whale, in which the grantee of the crown is

* Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents.

† Reflections on the French Revolution.

‡ Ibid.

altogether forgotten, and the fish alone remains one Republican ruler to a cannibal in his den, while he paints him as having actually devoured a king and suffering from indigestion; of another, to a maker of dresses, in which character the natural constitution is forgotten in that of millinery are instances too well known to be further dwelt upon; and they were the produce not of the "rascality of youth," but of the last years of his life. It must, however, be confessed, that he was at times somewhat apt to betray what Johnson attributes to Swift, a proneness to "revolve ideas in which other minds shrink with disgust." At times he must be allowed to have often mistaken violence and grossness for vigour. "The anodyne draught of oblivion, thus drugged, is well calculated to serve a galling wakefulness, and to feed the livid ulcer of a corroding memory. Thus to administer the opiate potion of animosity, powdered with the ingredients of scorn and contempt," &c. "They are not repelled, through a fastidious delicacy at the stench of their arrogance and presumption, from a medicinal attention to their medical blotches and running sores." †—"Those boys which, when full of life and beauty, lay in their arms, and were their joy and comfort, when old and putrid became but the more loathsome food."

* Reflections on the French Revolution.

† Ibid.

"The
 st , are
 to gan-
 of what was but just
 creation, there will be cast
 a bloa putrid, poisome
 offence, a hor-
 S ie passages are
 could not now be tolerated
 for the indecency of
 the Impeachment Continua-
 tion. But the finest of his speeches, which we have
 though it does not go so far from
 propriety, falls not much within its bounds. Of
 Mr. Dundas he says, "With six great chopping
(Reports of Secret Committee), each as
 lusty as an infant Hercules, this delicate creature
 blushes at the sight of his new bridegroom, assumes
 a virgin delicacy ; or, to use a more fit, as well as
 a more poetical comparison, the person so squeamish,
 so timid, so trembling lest the winds of
 heaven should visit too roughly, is expanded to
 broad sunshine, exposed like the sow of imperial
 augury, lying in the mud with all the prodigies of
 her fertility about her, as evidence of her delicate
 amour."

* Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents.

† Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's Debts.

It is another characteristic of this great writer, that the unlimited abundance of his stores makes him profuse in their expenditure. Never content with one view of a subject, or one manner of handling it, he for the most part lavishes his whole resources upon the discussion of each point. In controversy this is emphatically the case. Indeed, nothing is more remarkable than the variety of ways in which he makes his approaches to any position he would master. After reconnoitring it with skill and boldness, if not with perfect accuracy, he manœuvres with infinite address, and arrays a most imposing force of general principles mustered from all parts, and pointed, sometimes violently enough, in one direction. He now moves on with the composed air, the even, dignified pace of the historian; and unfolds his facts in a narrative so easy, and yet so correct, that you plainly perceive he wanted only the dismissal of other pursuits to have rivalled Livy or Hume. But soon this advance is interrupted, and he stops to display his powers of description, when the boldness of his design is only matched by the brilliancy of his colouring. He then skirmishes for a space, and puts in motion all the lighter arms of wit; sometimes not unmingled with drollery, sometimes bordering upon farce. His main battery is now opened, and a tempest bursts forth, of every weapon of attack—invective, abuse, irony, sarcasm, simile

it its allegory, allusion, quotation, simile, metaphor. The heavy artillery of power-motivation and the conflict of close argument ; wanting ; but of this the garrison is not ware ; his noise is oftentimes mistaken for that of true eloquence ; the number of his words distracts, and the variety of his mis- takes the adversary ; a panic spreads, and he has his point, as if he had actually made a breach ; nor is it discovered till after peace and confusion is over, that the citadel is untouched.

One of Mr. Burke's works that is of any use presents, though in different degrees, features to the view ; from the most chaste moderate, his ' Thoughts on the Discontents,' to the most faultless and severe ; his richer and more native as well as vehement tracts upon revolutionary politics ; his letters on the ' Regicide' and ' Defence of his Pension.' His speeches are not at all from his pamphlets ; these are written speeches, or those are spoken dissertations, as any one is over-studious of method and order in a book, or of ease and nature in an

principal defects here hinted at are a serious loss from merit of the highest order in both kinds of composition. But in his spoken eloquence the failure which it is known attended him

for a great part of his Parliamentary life is not to be explained by the mere absence of what alone he wanted to equal the greatest of orators. In fact he was deficient in judgment; he regarded not the degree of interest felt by his audience in the topic which deeply occupied himself; and seldom knew when he had said enough on those which affected them as well as him. He was admirable in exposition; in truth, he delighted to give instruction both when speaking and conversing, and in this was unrivalled. *Quis in sententiis argutior? docendo edisserendoque subtilior?* Mr. Fox might well avow, without a compliment, that he had learnt more from him alone than from all other men and authors. But if any one thing is proved by unvarying experience of popular assemblies, it is, that an excellent dissertation makes a poor speech. The speaker is not the only person actively engaged while a great oration is pronounced; the audience have their share; they must be excited, and for this purpose constantly appealed to as recognised persons of the drama. The didactic orator (if, as has been said of the didactic poet, it be not a contradiction in terms) has it all to himself; the hearer is merely passive; and the consequence is, he soon ceases to be a listener, and, if he can, even to be a spectator. Mr. Burke was essentially didactic, except when the violence of his invective carried him away, and then he offended

utes of the H C by
 is occasion, and by to co
 When he argued, it by uni d
 id seizing upon anal too te, i
 distinctions "too fl ' or,
 t, by a body of stat ts, l ,
 sified with flower and fruit, i high
 pleasantry, but almost always in
 one in these qualities as well as in its own
 . He had little power of hard stringent
 , as has been already remarked ; and his
 on was addressed to the head, as from the
 roceeded, learned, fanciful, ingenious, but
 sioned. Of him, as a combatant, we may
 : Aristotle did of the old philosophers,
 compared them to unskilful boxers, who hit

large of coarseness, or rather of vulgarity of lan-
 , to the astonishment of all who knew him, and
 pure idiomatic English, been made against Mr.
 but only by persons unacquainted with both. To
 nearly be applied the beautiful sketch of Crassus
 ius—Quo, says he, nihil statuo fieri potuisse per-
 rat summa gravitas, erat cum gravitate junctus,
 et urbanitatis oratorius, non scurrilis lepos. La-
 di accurata, et sine molestia diligens elegantia—
 do mira explicatio ; cum de jure civili, cum de
 mo disputaretur argumentorum et similitudinum
 t not the reader reject even the latter features,
 inly of an advocate ; at least let him first read
 ham's Speech on the Law of Evidence, in the
 ork's case.

round about, and not straight forward, and fight with little effect, though they may by chance sometimes deal a hard blow—Οἷον ἐν ταῖς μαχαῖς οἱ ἀγυμναστοὶ ποιοῦσι. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι περιφεροῦμενοι τυπτου πολλὰκις καλὰς ἀλλ' οὐτ' ἐκεῖνοι ἀπ' ἐπιστημῆς—(*Metaphys*) *

Cicero has somewhere called Eloquence *copia loquens sapientia*. This may be true of written but of spoken eloquence it is a defective definition and will, at the best, only comprehend the Demonstrative (or Epideictic) kind, which is banished, for want of an audience, from all modern assemblies of a secular description. Thus, though it well characterises Mr. Burke, yet the defects which we have pointed out were fatal to his success. Accordingly the test of eloquence, which the same master has in so picturesque a manner given, from his own constant experience, here entirely failed. “Volo hoc oratori contingat, ut cum auditum

* The Attic reader will be here reminded of the Philippic, in which a very remarkable passage, and in part too applicable to our subject, seems to have been suggested by the passage in the text; and its great felicity both of comparison and of wit, should, with many other passages, have made critics pause before they denied those qualities to the chief of orators. Ὡς περ δὲ οἱ βαρβαροὶ περὶ τοῦ Πύρρου οὕτω πολεμεῖτε φιλιππῶι καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων δὲ πληγὰς οὐκ ἐλάττω πληγῆς ἐχεται. κὰν ἑτέρωσε πυταξή τις, ἐκείσε εἰσὶν αἱ χεῖρες προβαλλέσθαι δ', ἢ βλέπειν ἐναντίον, οὐτ' οἶδεν, οὐτ' ἐθέλει which he proceeds to illustrate by the conduct held respecting the Chersonese and Thermopylae.

re dicturum, locus in subselliis occupetur, atur tribunal, gratiosi scribæ sint in dando dno locum, corona multiplex, judex erectus; argit is, qui dicturus sit, significetur a corona um, deinde crebræ assensiones, multæ ad- nes: risus, cum velit; cum velit, fletus; ut, c procul videat, etiamsi quid agatur nesciat, ere tamen, et in scena Roscium intelligat." any years, that is, between the latter part of merican war, and the speeches which he neither many nor long, nor in a very usual ular style, on the French Revolution, the erverse of all this was to be seen and lamented, n as Mr. Burke spoke. The spectator saw ns of Roscius being in action, but rather of uinent Civilian so closely allied to Mr. Burke, 'whom we are hereafter to speak.* "Videt" e same critic has, in another passage, almost letter described it) "oscitantem judicem, item cum altero, nonnunquam etiam circu- n, mittentem ad horas; quæsitorem, ut di-, rogantem; † intelligit, oratorem in ea causa udesse, qui possit animis judicum admovere nem, tanquam fidibus manum." t it may justly be said, with the second of

r. Lawrence.

his desire in the English senate is irregularly signi- y the cries of "Question," there not being a propo- r to appeal to, as in the Roman courts.

Attic orators, that sense is always more important than eloquence; and no one can doubt that enlightened men in all ages will hang over the works of Mr. Burke, and dwell with delight even upon the speeches that failed to command the attention of those to whom they were addressed. Nor is it by their rhetorical beauties that they interest. The extraordinary depth of his detached views, penetrating sagacity which he occasionally applied to the affairs of men and their motives, and curious felicity of expression with which he unfolded principles, and traces resemblances and relations are separately the gift of few, and in their union probably without any example. This must be admitted on all hands; it is possibly the last of these observations which will obtain universal assent, as it is the last we have to offer before coming upon disputed ground, where the fiercest contentions of politicians cross the more quiet path of the critic.

Not content with the praise of his philosophical acuteness, which all are ready to allow, the liberal temperate admirers of this great writer have ascribed to him a gift of genius approaching the power of divination, and have recognised him as in possession of a judgment so acute and calm withal, that its decision might claim the authority of infallible decrees. His opinions upon French affairs have been viewed as always resolute

from gen-ly applied to
 emergency; and t- b- looked upon
 brining a connected s- of doctrines, by
 sh his own sentiments and- not were regu-
 i, and from which af- t- may derive the
 ns of practical wisd-

consideration which at once occurs, as casting
 deion upon the soundness, if not also upon the
 erty, of these encomiums, is, that they never
 dreamt of until the questions arose concerning
 French Revolution; and yet, if well founded,
 were due to the former principles and con-
 of their object; for it is wholly inconsistent
 their tenor to admit that the doctrines so
 led were the rank and sudden growth of the
 which the changes of 1789 had generated.
 r title to so much admiration and to our im-
 t confidence must depend upon their being the
 ly matured fruit of a profound philosophy,
 sh had investigated and compared; pursuing
 analogies of things, and tracing events to their
 ste origin in the principles of human nature.
 It is certain that these reasoners (if reasoning
 indeed be deemed their vocation) never dis-
 red a single merit in Mr. Burke's opinions, or
 hing to praise, or even to endure, in his con-
 , from his entrance into public life in 1765 to
 period of that stormy confusion of all parties
 all political attachments, which took place in

1791, a short time before he quitted it. They therefore placed in a dilemma, from which it was a puzzle subtler dialecticians to escape. Either their idol has changed; either they have received a new light, or he is a changeling. They are either converts to a faith which, for many years and during so many vicissitudes, they had, in their preaching and in their lives, held to be damnable; or they are believers in a heresy lightly taken up by its author, and promulgated to suit the wholly secular purposes of some particular season.

We believe a very little examination of the facts will suffice to show that the believers have been more consistent than their oracle; and that they escape from the charge of fickleness at the expense of the authority due to the faith last proclaimed from his altar. It would, indeed, be difficult to select one leading principle or prevailing sentiment in Mr. Burke's latest writings, to which something extremely adverse may not be found in his former; we can hardly say his early works; excepting only on the subject of Parliamentary Reform, to which, with all the friends of Lord Rockingham, he was from the beginning adverse; and in favour of which he found so very hesitating and lukewarm feeling among Mr. Fox's supporters, as has amounted to a difference, certainly offered no inducements to compromise the opinions of his

urching after the monuments of altered
 we will not resort to his first works, in
 h he terms Damien "a late unfortunate
 looking only at his punishment, and dis-
 his offence; neither shall we look into
 s, exceeding, as they did, the bounds
 other men, even in the heat of debate,
 to themselves, in speaking now of the
 rate of the country, while labouring
 amitous visitation of Providence—now
 generally. But we may fairly take as the
 his opinions, best weighed and most
 pronounced, the calmest of all his pro-
 id the most fully considered,—given to
 hen he had long passed the middle age
 filled a high station, and been for years
 parliamentary history.* Although, in
 s of this kind, more depends upon the
 e of a work than on particular passages,
 temper of mind on certain points may
 gathered from that, than from any ex-
 d propositions, yet we have but to open
 o see that his *Thoughts* in 1770 were
 nt from those which breathe through
 of his Anti-Jacobin writings. And
 Corinthian Capital of 1790—"I am no

ights on the Causes of the Present Discontent
 l in 1770—when Mr. Burke was above 50

friend" (says he in 1770) "to aristocracy
 sense at least in which that word is usu-
 stood. If it were not a bad habit to me
 the supposed ruin of the constitution,
 free to declare, that if it must per-
 rather by far see it resolved into any
 than lost in that austere and insolent
 (*Works*, II. 246.) His comfort is
 the consideration, "that the gener-
 are but too apt to fall into an ob-
 proper dignity, and run headlong
 servitude." Next of "the Swinish

"When popular discontents hav-
 valent, it may well be affirmed a
 there has been generally some-
 the constitution or in the condi-
 The people have no interest
 they do wrong, it is their err-
 But with the governing part
 otherwise;" and he quotes

"Pour la populace, ce n'est
 quer qu'elle se soulève, m-
 souffrir." (*Ib.* 224.) Ag-

"having nothing to do with
 them"—"I see no other
 of a decent attention to
 representatives, but *the* i
the people itself," whe
 * Ita

rant and notorious act,—by some capital
n—that these representatives are going to
the fences of the law, and to introduce
ary power. This interposition is a most
t remedy. But if it be a legal remedy,
ded on some occasion to be used; to be
only when it is evident that nothing else
the constitution to its true principles. It

Parliament alone that the remedy for
itary disorders can be completed; hardly
a it begin there. Until a confidence in
nt is re-established, the people ought to
l to a more strict and detailed attention
duct of their representatives. Standards
ig more systematically upon their conduct
be settled in the meetings of counties and
ons. Frequent and correct lists of the
all important questions ought to be pro-
Ib. 324.) The reasons which called for
nterposition, and made him preach it at
of unprecedented popular excitement, are
be “the immense revenue, enormous
mighty establishments;” and he requires
e of Commons “to bear some stamp of
l disposition of the people at large;”
hat “it would be a more natural and
evil, that the House should be infected
y epidemical frenzy of the people, as this
licate some consanguinity, some sympathy

of nature with their constituents, than that it should in all cases be wholly untouched by opinions and feelings of the people out of doors. Now let us step aside for a moment to remark that the "*immense revenue*" was under 10 millions; the "*enormous debt*," 130; and the "*mighty establishments*" cost about 6 millions a-year. The statesman who, on this account, recommended popular interference in 1770, lived to see revenue 24 millions; the debt, 350; the establishment, 30; and the ruling principle of his last days was the all-sufficiency of Parliament and Crown, and the fatal consequence of according the people the slightest share of direct power in the state.

His theoretical view of the constitution in those days was as different from the high monarchic tone of his latter writings. The King was the "the representative of the people,"—"so" (he adds) "are the Lords; so are the Judges; they are all trustees for the people, as well as the Commons, because no power is given for the sole use of the holder; and although government certainly is an institution of divine authority, yet its form and the persons who administer it, all originate from the people." And then comes that immortal passage so often cited, and which ought to be blazoned in letters of fire over the porch of the Commons' House; illustrating the doctrine it

with, the " a control
 of the people, and not people; and that
 of virtue, spirit, and a a House of Com-
 must consist in its being a image of the
 feelings of the nation." It may be
 superfluous to add, that so y ued with
 soundest principles of a f o tion must
 have regarded the rbon rulers with
 regular dislike, while he in the English
 Government the natural ally of Liberty, whereso-
 ever she was struggling with her chains. Accord-
 ingly, in the same fi work, he exclaims,
 "Such was the conquest of Corsica, by the pro-
 ved enemies of the freedom of mankind, in defi-

" A vigilant and jealous eye over executory and judicial
 magistracy; an anxious care of public money; an openness,
 proaching towards facility, to public complaint; these
 can to be the true characteristics of a House of Commons.
 ut an addressing House of Commons and a petitioning
 tion; a House of Commons full of confidence, when the
 tion is plunged in despair; in the utmost harmony with
 ministers whom the people regard with the utmost abhor-
 rence; who vote thanks, when the public opinion calls upon
 for impeachments; who are eager to grant, when the
 moral voice demands account; who in all disputes between
 the people and the administration pronounce against the
 people; who punish their disorders, but refuse even to
 give into the provocations to them; this is an unnatural,
 monstrous state of things in the constitution. Such an
 assembly may be a great, wise, awful senate; but it is not
 any popular purpose a House of Commons."—(*Ib.* 289.)

ance of those who were formerly its professed defenders." (*Ibid.* 272.)

Although it cannot be denied that a considerable portion of the deference which Mr. Burke's and more celebrated opinions are entitled to command is thus taken away, and, as it were, shewn by the conflicting authority of his earlier sentiments, his disciples may, nevertheless, be willing to give his claims to a reverent, if not an implicit obedience upon the last, as the maturest efforts of his genius. Now, it appears evident that, in this extraordinary person, the usual progress of the faculties in growth and decline was in some measure reversed; his fancy became more vivid,—it burned as it were, brighter before its extinction; while age, which had only increased that light, lessened the power of profiting from it, by weakening judgment as the imagination gained luxuriant strength. Thus, his old age resembled that of old men in one particular only; he was more haunted by fears, and more easily became the dupe of a posture as well as alarm.

It is quite vain now to deny that the unfavorable decision which those feelings led him to form of the French Revolution was, in the main, incorrect and exaggerated. That he was right in expecting much confusion and mischief from the passions of a whole nation let loose, and influenced only by the various mobs of its capital, literary

litical, in rooms, the
 satres, and the streets, it; and his
 prehensions were certainly by the body
 his party. But beyond very safety and not
 ry difficult portion of it would be
 ed to show any signal of fulfilment.
 kept in lamenting of the times
 terror, and in admitting to fit a large
 section from the estimation of the
 evolution, it would be no better to point
 a single opinion of his with any rational and
 moderate man of the present day will avow. Those
 to claim for Mr. Burke's doctrines in 1790 the
 size of a sagacity and foresight hardly human,
 would do well to recollect his speech on the Army
 estimates of that year. It is published by himself,
 corrected,* and its drift is to show the uselessness
 of a large force, because "France must now be
 considered as expunged out of the system of Eu-
 rope;" it expresses much doubt if she can ever re-
 sume her station "as a leading power;" anticipates
 the language of the rising generation—*Gallos quo-*
que in bellis floruisse audivimus; and decides that,
 in all events, her restoration to anything like a sub-
 stantive existence must, under a republic, be the
 work of much time. Scarce two years elapsed be-
 fore this same France, without any change whatever
 in her situation, except the increase of the anarchy

* Works, vol. v. p. 1.

that had expunged her from the map, declared on Austria, and in a few months more carried conquests so much farther than Louis XIV. had done, when the firmness and judgment of King William opposed him, that Mr. Burke now said a universal league was necessary to avert her universal dominion, and that it was a question whether we would suffer any one throne to stand in Europe. The same eulogists of Mr. Burke's sagacity would also do well to recollect those yearly predictions of the complete internal ruin which for so long a period alternated with alarms at the foreign aggrandisement of the Republic; they all originated in his famous work—though it contains some prophecies too extravagant to be borrowed by his servile imitators. Thus he contends that the population of France is irreparably diminished by the Revolution, and actually adopts a calculation which makes the distress of Paris require above two millions sterling for its yearly relief; a sum sufficient to pay each family above seventeen pounds, or defray its whole expenditure in that country.

But on these grounds a further allowance is made, and a new deduction introduced, from the sum total of the deference paid to his authority. It is that the sagacity and penetration which we are to reverence were never at fault, unless on points where strong feelings interfered. The proposition must be admitted, and without any qualification

not to an —
the whole debt of France a et.
ever man's opinion good as
both are equally un
s of every kind. r it be for-
on another subject as well as the French
Mr. Burke's prejudices warped his judg-
men strongly interested he was apt to re-
in false colours and distorted shape.
f society for many years hung upon
Impeachment; during that period he
as much vituperation upon the East
his country as he afterwards did on the
and he was not more ready to quarrel
Fox on a difference of opinion about
n he had been a year before to attack
e with every weapon of personal and
abuse, upon a slighter difference about
; of the Impeachment. Nay, after the
question might have been supposed for-
nerged in the more recent controversy
affairs, he deliberately enumerates among
of alarm at French principles, the pre-
the East India interest in England;
"bobs" with the Diplomatic Body all
e, as naturally and incurably Jacobin;
his country loudly and solemnly against
self to be overthrown by a "Bengal

The like infirmity of a judgment, weakened, doubt, by his temper, pursued him in his last years through the whole details of the question that excited him most, when France was the main topic. He is blinded to the impressions on his various senses, not by the 'light shining inward,' but by the heat of his passions. He sees not what all other men behold, but what he wishes to see, or what his prejudices and fantasies suggest; and having once pronounced a dogma, the most astounding contradictions that events can give him assail his mind, and even his senses, in vain. Early in 1790 he pronounced France extinguished, as regarded her external force; but at the end of 1793, when a second attempt to invade her had ended in the complete discomfiture of the assailants, when she was rising in the successes of an offensive war, and had armed her whole people to threaten the liberties of Europe, he still sees in her situation nothing but "complete ruin, without the chance of resurrection," and reckons that, when she recovers her nominal independence by a restoration of the monarchy, "it will be as much as all her neighbours can do, by a solemn guarantee, to keep her upon her basis."* (WOLFE VII. 185.) That he should confound all persons as well as things, in his extravagant speculations, surprises less than such delusions as this. Wolfe

* She had at that time 750,000 men under arms, and was calling out the second conscription.

astonished at finding him repeatedly class the me and chivalrous La Fayette with the mon-lobespierre; but when we find him pursuing sory, that all Atheists are Jacobins, so far as urge Hume with being a leveller, and pressing urverse of the proposition so far as to insinuate Priestley was an Atheist, we pause incredu- ver the sad devastation which a disordered can make in the finest understanding. (VII.

at the warlike policy which he recommended at France was more consistent than the course ed by the ministry, may be admitted. The and ruinous plan of leaving the enemy to con- all Europe, while we wasted our blood and reasure in taking Sugar Islands, to increase the an slave-trade, and mow down whole armies stilence, has been oftentimes painted in strong rs, never stronger than the truth; and our only were successful when this wretched sys- ras abandoned. But if Mr. Burke faintly and y arraigned this plan of operations, it was on ds so purely fanciful, and he dashed the truth such a mixture of manifest error, that he un- ably both prevented his counsels from being eted, and subjected his own policy to imputa- full as serious as those he brought against the nment. He highly approved of the Emigra- because France was no longer in, but out of,

France; he insisted on an invasion, for the avowed purpose of restoring monarchy and punishing its enemies; he required the advanced guard of the attacking army to be composed of the bands of French gentlemen, emigrants, and to be accompanied by the exiled priests; and, in order to make the movement more popular, they were to be preceded by the proclamation of solemn leagues among the allies, never to treat with a republic that had slain its king, and formal announcements that they entered the country to punish as well as to restore.

Mr. Burke lived not to see the power of the revolutionary government extend itself resistless in the direction he had pronounced impossible, or prove harmless in the only way he deemed it formidable. The downfall of that government he lived not to see thrice accomplished, without one of his plans being followed. Yet let us not doubt his opinions upon the restoration of his favourite dynasty, had he survived its exile. With all his bright genius and solid learning, his venerable name would have been found at the head, or rather way in advance, of the most universally and most justly condemned faction in the world. The "Ultras" would have owned him for their leader, and would have admitted that he went beyond them in the uncompromising consistency of his extravagant dogmas. He who had deemed the kind of punishments meted that should be out, the most important

against to settle previously, and had thought it necessary, in many a long and laboured page, to discuss this when the prospects of the Bourbons were desperate (viii. 187), and to guard them by all arguments against listening to plans of amnesty, would have objected vehemently to every one act of the restored government; regarded the *charter* as an act of abdication; the security of property as robbery and sacrilege; the impunity of the Jacobins, availing the monarch an accessory after the fact to his brother's murder; and what all men of sound minds regarded as a state of great improvement, blessing the country with much happiness, freeing it from many abuses, and giving it precious hopes of liberty, he would have pronounced the height of misery and degradation. If such had not proved to be his views, living in our times, he must have changed all the opinions which he professed up to the hour of his death.

Upon one subject alone could he have been found ranged with the Liberal party of the present day; he was always, from a very early period, and before profound principles were disseminated on questions of political economy, held the most enlightened opinions on all subjects of mercantile policy; and these in sound opinions he retained to the last: here his mind seemed warped by no bias, and his profound understanding and habits of observation kept him straight. His works abound with just and original

reflections upon these matters, and they form striking contrast to the narrow views which, in latter years, he was prone to take of all that touch the interests and the improvement of mankind. For his whole habits of thinking seemed perverted by the dread of change; and he never reflected except in the single case of the Irish Catholics, that the surest way of bringing about a violent revolution is to resist a peaceful reform.

As he dreaded all plans of amendment which sought to work by perceivable agency and within moderate compass of time, so he distrusted all who patronised them—asserting their conduct to be weak and visionary enthusiasm at the best, but generally imputing their zeal to some sinister motives of personal interest: most unjustly—most unphilosophically—most unthinkingly. It is the natural tendency of men connected with the upper ranks of society, and separated from the mass of the community, to undervalue things which only affect the rights or the interests of the people. Against the leaning to which he had yielded, it becomes the duty to struggle, and their honest devotion to the cause of peaceable improvement, their virtuous labours bestowed in advancing the dignity and happiness of their fellow-creatures, their perils and their losses encountered in defence of the rights of oppressed men, are the most glorious titles to the veneration of the good and the wise; but they are titles which

he would , or covered with
 the tide of his indignation, whom Providence
 had endowed with a mind and originally
 imbued with such a sense of liberty, that he seemed
 especially raised up for instructing
 and mending his kindred.

Of Mr. Burke's genius as a writer and an orator,
 we have now spoken at length, though not needless
 length; and it would have been necessary
 to dwell longer on this subject, but for a sketch
 of a very different kind, drawn by another hand,
 from which a more accurate resemblance might
 have been expected. That Mr. Burke, with extra-
 ordinary powers of mind, cultivated to a wonderful
 degree, was a person of eccentric nature; that he
 was one mixture of incongruous extremes; that his
 opinions were always found to be on the outermost
 verge of those which could be held upon any ques-
 tion; that he was wholly wild and impracticable in
 his views; that he knew not what moderation or
 modification was in any doctrine which he ad-
 vanced; but was utterly extravagant in whatever
 judgment he formed, and whatever sentiment he
 expressed;—such was the representation to which
 we have alluded, and which, considering the dis-
 tinguished quarter it proceeded from,* seems to
 justify some further remark; the rather, be-
 cause we have already admitted the faults to exist in
 Lord Melbourne in the House of Lords, July, 1838

portion of his opinions, which are now to be affirmed respecting the whole, being followers of Mr. Burke's political or indiscriminate admirers of his course of man—the capacity in which he the especially during the few latter and best of his illustrious, chequered, and careful—we may yet affirm that, with the exception of his writings upon the French Revolution, it is difficult to find any statesman of any age whose opinions were more habitually marked by a constant regard to the result of experience, as well as the dictates of reason; by a fixed determination always to be rational, at the time he was giving scope to his extensive general views; by a cautious abstinance from all extremes, and especially those towards which the general complacency of political principles tending, he felt the necessity for being on his guard against the

This was the distinguishing feature of his life. A brilliant fancy and rich imagination did not more characterise his discourse than moderation did his counsels. Imagination more inspire or deep reflection inform his eloquence, than a wise spirit of compromise between theory and practice—between all opposites—governed his choice of mea-

by the extremes of both parties, but more
 ally of his own, greatly complained of: they
 not always comprehend it, and they could
 relish it, because their own understanding
 information reached it not; and the selfish
 of their meaner nature were thwarted by it.
 speeches, by the length at which he dwelt
 pics, and the vehemence of his expressions, he
 often deficient in judgment. But in the forma-
 of his opinions no such defect could be per-
 ed; he well and warily propounded all practical
 lerations; and although he viewed many sub-
 in different lights at the earlier and the later
 ls of his time, and is thus often quoted for
 its purposes by reasoners on different sides of
 great political controversy, he himself never
 ged in wild or thoughtless extremes. He
 ight this spirit of moderation into public affairs
 him; and, if we except the very end of his
 when he had ceased to live much in public, it
 by him to the last. "I pitched my Whig-
 low," said he, "that I might keep by it." With
 rn followers his influence was supreme; and
 such men as Dr. Lawrence, Mr. W. Elliott,
 he late Lord Minto, to say nothing of the
 s, the Freres, and the Cannings, no man of
 derate and extreme opinions ever could have
 ed this sway. Mr. Wilberforce compares
 deference for him with the treatment of Ahi-

tophel: "It was as if one meant to inquire of the oracle of the Lord."* Hear again the words of one who knew him well, for he had studied him much, and had been engaged in strenuous controversy against him. Speaking of the effects produced by his strong opinions respecting French affairs, Sir James Mackintosh as justly as profoundly observed to Mr. Horner—"So great is the effect of a single inconsistency with the whole course of a long and wise political life, that the greatest philosopher in practice whom the world ever saw, passes with the superficial vulgar for a head-brained enthusiast." Sir James Mackintosh never dreamt that all the temperate wisdom of the oration upon American affairs—all the profound and practical discretion which breathes over each page of the discussion upon the "Present Discontents"—all the truly enlarged principles of retrenchment but tempered with the soundest and most rational views of each proposition's bearing upon the whole frame of our complicated government, which he made the celebrated speech upon "Economic Reform" the manual of every moderate and constitutional reformer—all the careful regard to facts, as well as abstract principles, the nice weighing of opposite arguments, the acute perception of practical consequences, which presided over his whole opinions upon commercial policy, especia-

* Life of Wilberforce, vol. ii. p. 211.

questions connected with Scarcity and the Laws—all the mingled firmness, humanity, sense of practical judgment, and enlargement of speculative views, which governed his opinions on the execution of the Criminal Law—all the moderation of reform and toleration, tempered with cautious circumspection of surrounding connexions and evident foresight of possible consequences, which marked and moved his wise and liberal views upon the affairs of the Irish hierarchy—all would have been forgotten in the perusal of a few violent invectives or exaggerated sentiments called forth by the horrors of the French Revolution; which, as his unrivalled sagacity had seen them, when the rest of his party, intoxicated with the victory over despotism, could not look towards any consequences at all; so he very unnaturally regarded as the end and consummation of that mighty event,—mistaking the violence by which the tempest and the flood were to clear the stream, for the perennial defilement of its waters.

For, though we have shown the repugnance of his earlier to his later opinions, must it after all be owing to the account of a heated imagination and an unsound judgment, that even upon the French Revolution he betrayed so much violence in his language, and carried his opinions to a length which all men now deem extravagant; or that he

at one time was so misled by the
the hour as to dread the effacing of
the map of Europe. We are now
and easy chair of him who judges a
and appeals to things as certainly
the veil of futurity concealed from
before. Every one must allow that
which shook France to her centre
gaze of mankind was an event of pro-
tude; and that he who was called
opinion upon its import, and to fore-
quences, and to shape his counsel
duct to be pursued regarding it,
circumstances wholly new, and had
way without any light whatever from
rience of past times. Mr. Burke
mischief in it, view it on whatever
whatever point he would; and he re-
sequences as pregnant with danger
countries, as well as to the one which
waste or about to be devastated by
That for a time he saw right, not
affect to deny. When all else in the
foresee nothing but good to France,
improvement so suddenly wrought
tions, he plainly told them that we
pleased with viewing as the lamb
fire-work was the glare of a volcano
which would cover France and Europe

of all their institutions, and fill the air with
erian darkness, through the confusion of
neither the useful light of day nor the
ag prospect of heaven could be desiered.
uddenness of the improvement which de-
l all else, to his sagacious and far-sighted
ded doubtless by the reflecting glass of past
ence and strengthened by the wisdom of
lays in which it had been steeped, presented
ry cause of distrust, and foreboding, and

It was *because* his habit of mind was cau-
and calculating,—not easily led away by a
tside, not apt to run into extremes, given to
reflection, and fond of correcting, by prac-
iews and by the lessons of actual observation,
ausible suggestions of theory,—that he be-
with doubt and apprehension, Governments
down and set up in a day—Constitutions,
ow work of centuries, taken to pieces and re-
ucted like an eight-day clock. He is not
st materials, were he to retort the charge of
running into extremes and knowing not
to stop, upon those who were instantly fas-
d with the work of 1789, and could not look
rd to the consequences of letting loose four-
renty millions of people from the control
which ages of submission to arbitrary rule
stal disuse of civil rights had kept them.
are assuredly without the means of demon

strating *his* want of reflection and foresight. nearly the whole period during which he survived the commencement of the Revolution—for five those seven years—all his predictions, save momentary expression, had been more than filled: anarchy and bloodshed had borne sway in France; conquest and convulsion had desolated Europe; and even when he closed his eyes upon earthly prospects, he left this portentous method “with fear of change perplexing monarchs.” The providence of mortals is not often able to penetrate so far as this into futurity. Nor can he whose mind was filled with such well-grounded alarms justly impeached of violence, and held up as unsoundly given to extremes of opinion, if he betray an invincible repugnance to sudden revolutions in the system of policy by which nations are governed, and an earnest desire to see the restoration of the old state of things in France, as the harbinger of repose for the rest of the world.

That Mr. Burke did, however, err, and err widely, in the estimate which he formed of the merits of a Restored Government, no one now doubts. His mistake was in comparing the *régime* with the anarchy of the Revolution, which not only the monarchy of France, but the despotism of Turkey was preferable. He could not get rid of the belief that because change had been effected with a violence which

ed, and inevitably produced, the consequences seen by himself, and by him alone, therefore tree so planted must for ever prove incapable bearing good fruit. He forgot that after the once, in its nature temporary, should subside, it at be both quite impossible to restore the old archy, and very possible to form a new and rly and profitable government upon the ruins e Republic. Above all, he had seen so much ant mischief wrought to France during the con- lve struggle which was not over before his h, that he could not persuade himself of any ble good arising to her from the mighty change ad undergone. All this we now see clearly gh; having survived Mr. Burke nearly fifty s, and witnessed events which the hardiest dealers rophecies assuredly could never have ventured retell. But we who were so blind to the early equences of the Revolution, and who really did r ourselves to be carried away by extreme opi- s, deaf to all Mr. Burke's warnings; we surely little right to charge him with blind violence, flecting devotion to his fancy, and a disposition n into extremes. At one time they who op- l his views were by many, perhaps by the ma- r of men, accused of this propensity. After vents in France had begun to affright the le of this country, when Mr. Burke's opinions found to have been well grounded, the friends

of liberty would not give up their fond belief that all must soon come right. At that time we find Dean Milner writing to Mr. Wilberforce from Cambridge, that "Mr. Fox's old friends there all gave him up, and most of them said he was mad."

In the imperfect estimate of this great man's character and genius which we have now concluded, let it not be thought that we have made any very large exceptions to the praise unquestionably his due. We have only abated claims preferred by his unheeding worshippers to more than mortal endowments—worshippers who with the true fanatical spirit adore their idol the more, as he proves the more unsafe guide; and who chiefly valued his peculiarities when he happened to err on the great question that filled the latter years of his life. Enough will remain to command our admiration, after it shall be admitted that he who possessed the finest fancy and the rarest knowledge

* *Life of Wilberforce*, ii. p. 3.—This was written early in the year 1793, when most men thought Mr. Burke had moderate and right. "There is scarce one of his (Mr. Fox's) old friends here at Cambridge who is not disposed to give him up, and most say he is mad. I think of him much as always did; I still doubt whether he has bad principles, but I think it pretty plain he has none; and I suppose he is ready for whatever turns up." See, too, Lord Wellesley's justly celebrated speech, two years later, on French affairs. It is re-published in Mr. Martin's edition of that great statesman's Despatches.

did not equally excel other men in retaining his sound and calm judgment at a season of peculiar emergency; enough to excite our wonder at the degree in which he was gifted with most parts of genius, though our credulity be not staggered by the assertion of a miraculous union of them all. We have been contemplating a great marvel certainly, not gazing on a supernatural sight; and we retire from it with the belief, that if acuteness, learning, imagination, so unmeasured, were never before combined, yet have there been occasionally witnessed in eminent men greater powers of close reasoning and fervid declamation, oftentimes a more correct taste, and, on the question to which his mind was last and most earnestly applied, a safer judgment.

MR. FOX.

THE glory of Mr. Burke's career certainly was not diminished by the American war, during which he led the Opposition in the House of Commons ; until, having formed a successor more renowned than himself, he was superseded rather than superseded in the command of that victorious band of the champions of freedom. This disciple, as he was proud to acknowledge himself, was Charles James Fox, one of the greatest statesmen, and if not the greatest orator, certainly the most accomplished debater, that ever appeared upon the theatre of public affairs in any age or world. To the profuse, the various learning of a master ; to his exuberant fancy, to his profound and mature philosophy, he had no pretensions. His knowledge was confined to the ordinary accomplishments of an English education—intimate acquaintance with the classics ; the exquisite taste which familiarity bestows ; and a sufficient knowledge of history. These stores he afterwards increased rather than diminished ; for he continued to delight in classical reading ; and added a minute and profound

edge of modern languages, with a deep and
 to study of our own history and the history
 of modern states; inasmuch that it may be
 ned if any politician in any age ever knew
 oughly the various interests and the exact
 n of all the countries with which his own had
 gs to conduct or relations to maintain. Be-
 these solid foundations of oratory and ample
 of political information his range did not
 . Of natural science, of metaphysical philo-
 of political economy, he had not even the
 nts; and he was apt to treat those matters
 e neglect, if not the contempt, which igno-
 an rather account for than excuse. He had
 far too early into public life to be well
 ed in a statesman's philosophy; like his great
 and indeed like most aristocratic politicians,
 ere described as "rocked and dandled into
 ors" by one,* himself exempt from this de-
 education; and his becoming a warm par-
 the same early age, also laid the foundation
 ther defect, the making party principle the
 ile of conduct, and viewing every truth of
 d science through this distorting and dis-
 ng medium.

if such were the defects of his education, the
 powers of his nature often overcame them,
 threw them into the shade. A preternatu-

* Mr. Burke.

ral quickness of apprehension, which enabled
 to see at a glance what cost other minds the
 of an investigation, made all attainments of
 dinary kind so easy, that it perhaps disinclined
 to those which not even his acuteness and
 of mind could master without the pain of
 But he was sure as well as quick; and without
 heat of passion, or the prejudice of party,
 tain little peculiarities of a personal kind—
 mental idiosyncrasies in which he indulged
 which produced capricious fancies or erots
 left his faculties unclouded and unstunted, and
 judgment was more sound or could more safely
 trusted. Then his feelings were warm and
 his temper was sweet though vehement; like
 of all the Fox family, his nature was generous
 open, manly; above everything like dissimulation
 or duplicity; governed by the impulses of
 and benevolent soul. This virtue, so much
 all intellectual graces, yet bestowed its accumu-
 lated influence upon the faculties of his understanding
 and gave them a reach of enlargement to
 meaner natures are ever strangers. It was
 more certain that such a mind as his should be
 friendly to religious toleration, eager for the
 tion of civil liberty, the uncompromising enemy
 of craft and cruelty in all their forms,—free
 corruption of the Treasury and the severity
 of the penal code, up to the oppression of our American

ness and ti —than that it
 ould be enlarged and at d, made power-
 in its grasp and consis its purpose, by the
 e admirable and ami e ities which bent
 ways towards the right it.

he great intellectual its of Mr. Fox, the ro-
 structure of his facul s, naturally governed
 oratory, made him si ularly affect argument,
 led him to a close grappling with every sub-
 ; despising all flights of imagination, and shun-
 ; everything collateral or discursive. This turn
 mind, too, made him always careless of orna-
 t, often negligent of accurate diction. There
 or was a greater mistake, as has already been
 arked.* than the fancying a close resemblance
 een his eloquence and that of Demosthenes ;
 ough an excellent judge (Sir James Mackintosh)
 into it, when he pronounced him "the most
 mosthenean speaker since Demosthenes." That
 esembled his immortal predecessor in despising
 eless ornament, and all declamation for decla-
 ion's sake, is true enough ; but it applies to
 ry good speaker as well as to those two signal
 uments of ancient and modern rhetoric. That
 resembled him in keeping more close to the sub-
 ; in hand, than many good and even great
 kers have often done, may also be affirmed ;
 this is far too vague and remote a likeness to

* Lord Chatham.

justify the proposition in question; and it is only difference in degree, and not a specific distinctness between him and others. That his eloquence was fervid, rapid, copious, carrying along with it the minds of the audience, not suffering them to dwell upon the speaker or the speech, but engrossing the whole attention, and keeping it fixed on the question, is equally certain; and is the only real resemblance which the comparison affords. But these points of difference are as numerous as they are important, and they strike indeed upon the cursory glance. The one was full of repetition, recurring again and again to the same topic, and to the same view of it, till he had made his impression complete; the other never came back upon ground which he had utterly wasted and withered up by the tide of fire he had rolled over it. The one dwelt at length, and with many words, on topics; the other performed the whole at a blow, sometimes with a word, always with the smallest number of words possible. The one frequently digressive, even narrative and copious in illustration; in the other no deviation from his course ever to be perceived; no disporting on the borders of his way, more than any lingering upon it; he carried rapidly forward, and without swerving to the right or to the left, like the engines that run along a railway, and like them driving everything out of sight that obstructed his resistless course.

them as was (the t, was
 remarkable. It is in any one
 I have thought of I. Kox to the
 of whom the great n critic, comparing
 with Cicero, has said so v and so judiciously
illo plus curæ, in hoc plus naturæ. The
 was, of all speakers, the one who most care-
 prepared each sentence; showing himself as
 in the collocation of his words as in the
 ion. His composition, accordingly, is a mo-
 the most artificial workmanship; yet of an
 happy in its results that itself is wholly con-
 l. The Englishman was negligent, careless,
 ily beyond most speakers; even his most bril-
 passages were the inspirations of the moment;
 e frequently spoke for half an hour at a time,
 imes delivered whole speeches, without being
 for five minutes, or, excepting in a few sound
 nsible remarks which were interspersed, re-
 ng the hearer with a single redeeming passage.
 d, to the last, he never possessed, unless when
 animated, any great fluency; and probably
 ed it, as he well might, if he only regarded its
 in making men neglect more essential qua-
 —when the curse of being *fluent speakers*,
 xthing else, has fallen on them and on their
 ice. Nevertheless, that fluency—the being
 asily to express his thoughts in correct words
 s essential to a speaker as drawing to a painter.

his we cannot doubt, any more than we can refuse our assent to the proposition, that though merely giving pleasure is no part of an orator's duty, yet he has no vocation to give his audience pain:—which any one must feel who listens to a speaker delivering himself with difficulty and hesitation.

The practice of composition seems never to have been familiar to Mr. Fox. His speeches show this; perhaps his writings still more; because there the animation of the momentary excitement which often carried him on in speaking had little or no play. One of his worst speeches, if not his worst, is that upon Francis, Duke of Bedford; and it is known to be almost the only one he had ever made prepared, and the only one he ever corrected for the press. His 'History,' too, shows the want of expertness in composition. The style is pure and correct, but cold and lifeless: it is even somewhat abrupt and discontinuous; so little does it flow naturally or with ease. Yet, when writing letters without any effort, no one expressed himself more happily, or with more graceful facility: and in conversation, of which he only partook when the society was small and intimate, he was a model of every excellence, whether solid or gay, plain or refined.—of information, witty and playful betimes, never unprepared for a moment;—above all, never afraid of an argument, as so many eminent men are.

but, on the contrary, courting discussion on subjects, perhaps without much regard to their importance ; as if reasoning were his natural element, in which his great faculties moved the freely. An admirable judge, but himself devoted to reasoning upon general principles, the Mr. Dumont, used to express his surprise at his love of minute discussion, of argumentation on trifling subjects, which this great man often indulged in. But the cause was clear ; argument he loved to have ; and as his studies, except upon historical and classical points, had been extremely limited, when matters of a political or critical nature were not on the carpet, he took whatever literary matter came uppermost, and made it the subject of discussion. To this circumstance may be added his playful good-nature, which partook, Mr. Gibbon observed, of the simplicity of a child ; making him little fastidious and easily interested and amused.

Having premised all these qualifications, it must be added, that Mr. Fox's eloquence was of a kind which, to comprehend, you must have heard himself. When he got fairly into his subject, was fully warmed with it, he poured forth words and periods of fire that smote you, and deprived you of all power to reflect and rescue yourself, as he went on to seize the faculties of the hearer, and carry them captive along with him

whithersoever he might please to rush. It is ridiculous to doubt that he was a far closer reasoner, a much more argumentative speaker, than Demosthenes; as much more so as Demosthenes would perhaps have been than Fox had he lived in our times, and had to address an English House of Commons. For it is the kindred mistake of those who fancy that the two were like each other, to imagine that the Grecian's orations are long chains of ratiocination, like Sir William Grant's arguments, or Euclid's demonstrations. They are close to the point; they are full of impressive allusions; they abound in expositions of the adversary's inconsistency; they are loaded with bitter invective; they never lose sight of the subject; and they never quit hold of the hearer, by the striking appeals they make to his strongest feelings and favourite recollections: to the heart, or to the quick and immediate sense of inconsistency, they are always addressed, and find their way thither by the shortest and surest road; but to the heart, to the calm and sober judgment, as pieces of argumentation, they assuredly are not addressed. But Mr. Fox, as he went along, and exposed the absurdity, and made inconsistent arguments, and laid bare shuffling or hypocrisy, and showed down upon meanness, or upon cruelty, or upon oppression, a pitiless storm of the most powerful invective, was ever forging also the long, and

l, and massive chain of pure demonstra-

στ' ἄκροβουτ' μάχην ἄκροα, κείν' εὖ δε-διδήκτους
 υς, ἀλυστους, ἔφ' ἄκροβον ἔνθι μενοιν.

(Od. θ.)

was no weapon of argument which this
 for more happily or more frequently
 than wit,—the wit which exposes to ridi-
 absurdity or inconsistency of an adverse
 . It has been said of him, we believe by
 e,² that he was the wittiest speaker of his
 and they were the times of Sheridan and of
 . This was Mr. Canning's opinion, and
 so Mr. Pitt's. There was nothing more
 Mr. Pitt's sarcasm, nothing so vexatious
 Canning's light and galling raillery, as the
 and piercing wit with which Mr. Fox so
 rrupted, but always supported, the heavy
 of his argumentative declamation.

fuit satius, tristes Amaryllidis iras,
 superba pati fastidia? Nonne, Menalcan?"

ate he had that ready discernment of an
 's weakness, and the advantage to be
 it, which is, in the war of words, what the
 il of a practised general is in the field.
 ver best in reply: his opening speeches
 most always unsuccessful: the one in
 lee 'Quarterly Review' for October, 1810.

1805, upon the Catholic Question, was a great conception; and the previous meditation upon it, and having heard Lord Grenville's able opening of the same question in the House of Lords, gave him much anxiety: he felt exceedingly *nervous*, to use the common expression. It was a noble performance, instinct with sound principle; full of broad and striking views of policy; abounding in manly and unanimous appeals to justice; and bold assertions of right, in one passage touching and pathetic,—the description of a Catholic soldier's feelings on reviewing some field where he had shared the dangers of the fight, yet repined to think that he could never taste the glories of command. His greatest speeches were those in 1791, on the Russian armament, on Parliamentary Reform in 1797, and on the renewal of the war in 1803. The last he himself preferred to all the others; and it had the disadvantage, if it be not, however, in another sense the advantage,* of coming after the finest speech excepting that on the slave-trade, ever delivered by his great antagonist. But there are passages in the earlier speeches,—particularly the fierce attack upon Lord Auckland in the Russian speech,—and the impressive and vehement summary of our wrongs and our misgovernment in the Reform speech.

* To a great speaker, it is always an advantage to follow a powerful adversary. The audience is prepared for attention, nay, even feels a craving for some answer.

in it was in the even in the
 of 1800. But in the priority of the sub-
 the speech upon the Scrutiny in
 it might perhaps be at the of
 all. The surpassing of the qu on
 he speaker himself; it is
 If its details possess by his au which
 e it sufficient to all to matters and not to
 them;* the undeniably strong grounds of
 which he had against his adversary; all
 pire to make this great oration as animated
 energetic throughout, as it is perfectly felicit-
 both in the choice of topics and the handling
 them. A fortunate cry of "*Order*," which he
 raised in the very exordium, by affirming
 "far from expecting any indulgence, he could
 cely hope for bare justice from the House,"
 him occasion for dwelling on this topic, and
 sing it home with additional illustration; till
 redoubled blows and repeated bursts of extem-
 pneous declamation almost overpowered the
 ence, while they wholly bore down all further
 ruption. A similar effect is said to have been
 luced by Mr. (now Lord) Plunket, in the
 House of Commons, upon some one calling

This is one main cause of the conciseness and rapidity
 e Greek orations; they were all on a few simple topics
 oughly known to the whole audience. Much of their
 alty comes also from this source.

out to take down his words. "Stop," said the consummate orator, "and you shall have something more to take down;" and then followed, like a torrent, the most vehement and indignant description of the wrongs which his country had sustained and had still to endure.

In most of the external qualities of oratory, Mr. Fox was certainly deficient, being of an unwell person, without any grace of action, with a voice of little compass, and which, when pressed in the vehemence of his speech, became shrill almost to a cry or squeak; yet all this was absolutely forgotten in the moment when the torrent began to pour. Some of the undertones of his voice were peculiarly sweet; and there was even in the shrill and piercing sounds which he uttered when at the most exalted pitch, a power that thrilled the heart of the hearer. His pronunciation of our language was singularly beautiful, and his use of it pure and chaste to severity. As he rejected, from the correctness of his taste, all vicious ornaments, and was most sparing, indeed, in the use of figures of speech, so, in his choice of words, he justly shunned foreign idiom, or words borrowed, whether from the ancient or modern languages; and affected the pure Saxon tongue, the resources of which are unknown to many who use it, both in writing and in speaking.

If from the orator we turn to the man, we shall

to lament, whether
 or his public ; but
 are excuses to
 ve the censure,
 ire and alone.
 , from whom he
 ly, but little principle,
 in the possession of pe-
 cannot safely be trusted to
 of youth ; and the dissipated
 habits of the times drew him, before the age of
 manhood, into the whirlpool of fashionable excess.
 In the comparatively correct age in which our lot
 is cast, it would be almost as unjust to apply our
 more severe standard to him and his associates, as
 it would have been for the Ludlows and Hutchinsons
 of the seventeenth century, in writing a history of
 the Roman empire, to denounce the immoralities of
 Julius Cæsar. Nor let it be forgotten, that the
 noble heart and sweet disposition of this great man
 passed unscathed through an ordeal which, in
 almost every other instance, is found to deaden all
 the kindly and generous affections. A life of
 gambling, and intrigue, and faction, left the nature
 of Charles Fox as little tainted with selfishness or
 falsehood, and his heart as little hardened, as if he
 had lived and died in a farm-house ; or rather as if
 he had not outlived his childish years.

The historian of a character so attractive, the

softer features of which present a rare the accustomed harshness of politics tempted to extend the same indulgence, the errors of the statesman to the accusation, or the less lofty tone of principle distinguished the earlier period of his life while his principles of conduct were forming and ripening. The great party, too, which he led with matchless personal influence, was not to catch at such a means of defence; but to demand the same measure of justice or of mercy must be applied to the public conduct of Mr. Pitt as to his private life. If, in the face of this rival, there would be little gain to party by that sacrifice of principle which would lead to such unworthy concessions. It is of a dangerous example, of most corrupting tendency to let the faults of statesmen pass unnoticed, and to treat the errors or the crimes which affect the interests of millions with the same indulgence towards human frailty which we may, in the name of charity, show towards the more venial transgressions that only hurt an individual; and which commonly only the wrong-doer himself. (It must be said, that whilst his political principles were formed upon the true model of the School, and led him, when combined with his position as opposing the government's oppressive policy, to defend the liberty and support the cause of peace both in

French, he constantly modified these principles, according to his own situation and circumstances as a party chief; he was not the ambition of the man and the interest of his followers the governing rule of his conduct. The charge is a grave one; but undoubtedly they fully bear it out. Because Lord North gained the King's ear, by an interest, but then Lord Shelburne never had pretended to be a follower of Mr. Fox, the latter formed a coalition with Lord North, whose person and whose policy he had spent his whole life in decrying; whose misgovernment of America had been the cause of nearly destroying the empire; and whose whole principles were the very reverse of his own. The ground taken by this coalition on which to subvert the government of Lord Shelburne and Mr. Pitt, was, their having made a peace favourable to England beyond what could have been expected, after the state to which Lord North's maladministration had reduced her; their having, among other things, given the new American States too large concessions; and their having made inadequate provision for the security and indemnity of the American loyalists. On such ground they, Mr. Fox and Lord North, succeeded in overturning the ministry, and took their places; which they held for a few months, when the King dismissed them, amidst the all but universal joy of the country; men of all ranks, and parties, and

sects, joining in one feeling of disgust at the factious propensities in which the unnatural alliance was begotten; and apprehending from it, as Mr. Wilberforce remarked, "a progeny stamped with the features of both parents, the violence of the one party, and the corruption of the other." This grand error raised the Tories and Mr. Pitt to the power which, during their long and undisturbed reign, they enjoyed, notwithstanding all the unparalleled difficulties of the times, and in spite of so many failures in all the military enterprises of themselves and of their foreign allies. The original quarrel with Mr. Pitt was an error proceeding from the same evil source. His early but mature talents had been amply displayed; he had already gained an influence in Parliament and the country, partly from hereditary, partly from personal qualities, second only to that of Mr. Fox; his private character was wholly untarnished; his principles were the same with those of the Whigs; he had nobly fought with them the battle which destroyed the North administration. Yet no first-rate place could be found to offer him; although Mr. Fox had once and again declared a boundless admiration of his genius, and an unlimited confidence in his character. Lord John Cavendish, of an illustrious Whig house by birth, but himself one of the most obscure of mankind, must needs be made Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Pitt was only

Lord Cha a man of vast talents, spotless reputation, and he was thus not without a sacrifice of personal honour; ally of Mr. Fox, in serving their country. How much misery and mischief world have been spared had the Rock-istry preferred Mr. Pitt to Lord John and made the union between him and perpetual! We shall presently see that almost as great in itself, though in its es far from being so disastrous, was committed by Mr. Pitt himself.

erval between the American and the ars was passed by Mr. Fox in opposing was proposed by his antagonist; with the eption of the measures for restoring the r's authority in 1787. His hearty admi- the French Revolution is well known; us unqualified by any of the profound ious forebodings of Mr. Burke, excited rust of vast and sudden changes among wholly unprepared; and which seems wards to have been diminished by the fact of a minority having obtained the being compelled to make up, with the of terror, for the essential want of sup- g the people at large. The separation tocratic supporters, and the unfortunate ich it led, left him to struggle for peace

and the Constitution, with a small but steady band of noble-minded associates; and their warfare for the rights of the people during the dismal period of alarm which elapsed from 1793 to 1801, when the healing influence of the Addington Government was applied to our national wounds, cannot be too highly extolled. The Whigs thus regained the confidence of the nation, which their Coalition of years before seemed to have forfeited for ever. The new junction with the Grenville party in 1801 was liable to none of the same objections; it was founded on common principles; and it both honoured its authors and served the State. But when upon Mr. Pitt's death, Mr. Fox again became possessed of power, we find him widely differed from the leader of a hopeless though high-principled Opposition to the Court of George III. He consented to take office without making any stipulation with the King on behalf of the Catholics; a grave neglect, which afterwards subverted the Whig Government; and if it be said that this sacrifice was made to obtain the greater object, peace with France, then it must be added that he was slack indeed in his pursuit of that great object. He allowed the odious income-tax to be nearly doubled, after being driven, one by one, from the taxes proposed; and proposed on the very worst principles ever dreamt of by financiers. He de-

the unprincipled arrangement for making Lord Chief Justice of England a politician, by placing him in the Cabinet. He joined as heartily as any man in the fervour of loyal enthusiasm for the overgrown possessions of the Crown. On one subject his sense of right, no less than his kind and humane feelings, kept him invariably to the great principles of justice as well as

His attachment was unceasing, and his services invaluable, to the Abolition of the Slave Trade, which his last accession to office certainly retarded by several years. For this, and for his conduct of Lord Erskine in his amendment of the Libel, the lasting gratitude of his country and mankind is due; and to the memory of so good and so amiable a man it is a tribute which can ever be cheerfully paid. But to appreciate the attitude which England owes him, we must not stop at his ministerial life; we must recur to his early glorious career as leader of the patriot party, which, during the almost hopeless struggle from 1793 to 1801, upheld the cause of afflicted Ireland. If to the genius and the courage of the patriot we may justly be said to owe the escape from proscription and from arbitrary power, Fox stands next to him as the preserver of that sacred liberty which they saved to blaze forth in later times. Nor could even Erskine have

triumphed as he did, had not the party which Fox so nobly led persevered in maintaining the holy warfare, and in rallying round them whatever was left of the old English spirit to resist oppression.

END OF VOL. I.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES
OF
STATESMEN
WHO FLOURISHED IN
THE TIME OF GEORGE III.
FIRST SERIES.
VOLUME II.

BY
HENRY, LORD BROUGHAM, F.R.S.,
AND MEMBER OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE.

NEW EDITION, CORRECTED BY THE AUTHOR.

LONDON:
CHARLES KNIGHT & CO., LUDGATE STREET.

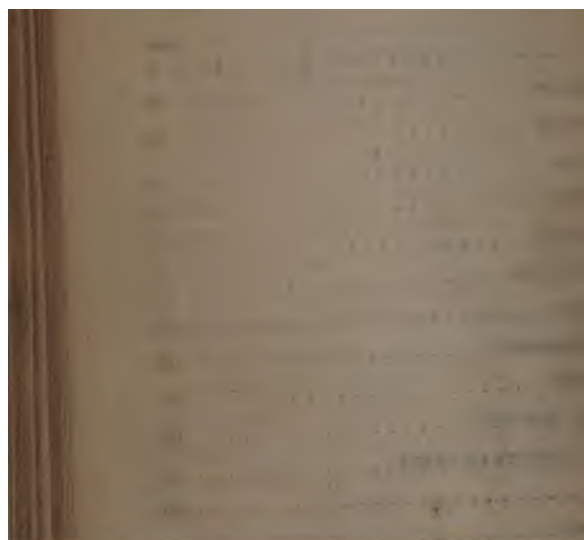
—
1845.
7NE

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY
244412

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS
1906

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
.....	5
RIDAN	24
DHAM	25
DAS	44
CINE	55
JEVAL	67
ENVILLE	77
TTAN	85
BERFORCE	95
NING	106
UEL ROMILLY	124
HE EFFECTS OF PARTY	134
IN	153
IC II.	160
US III.	191
PEROR JOSEPH	207
PRESS CATHERINE	224
IX	241



STATESMEN

OF THE

TIME OF GEORGE III.

MR. PITT.

the circumstances of his celebrated antagonist's situation were as different from his own as could well be imagined. It was not merely disparity of years by which they were distinguished ; all theeditary prejudices under which the one appeared before the country were as unfavourable, as the possessions derived from his father's character and renown were auspicious to the entrance of the other upon the theatre of public affairs. The grief, indeed, was yet recent which the people had felt at the loss of Lord Chatham's genius, so proudly rising above all party views and personal ties, so sincerely devoted to the cause of his principles and patriotism—when his son appeared to take his station, and contest the first rank in the popular action with the son of him whose policy and

VOL. II.

parts had been sunk into obscurity by the superior lustre of his rival's capacity and virtues. But the young statesman's own talents and conduct made good the claim which his birth preferred. At an age when others are but entering upon the study of state affairs and the practice of debating, he came forth a mature politician, a finished orator,—even, as if by inspiration, an accomplished debater. His knowledge, too, was not confined to the study of the classics, though with these he was familiarly conversant; the more severe pursuits of Cambridge had imparted to him some acquaintance with the stricter sciences which have had their home upon the banks of the Granta since Newton made them his abode; and with political philosophy he was more familiar than most Englishmen of his own age. Having prepared himself, too, for being called to the bar, and both attended on courts of justice and frequented the Western Circuit, he had more knowledge and habits of business than can fall to the share of our young patricians;—the material out of which British statesmen are for the most part fashioned by an attendance upon debates in Parliament, and a study of newspapers in the clubs. Happy had he not too soon removed into office from the prosecution of studies which his rapid political success broke off never to be resumed! For the leading defect of his life, which is seen through all his measures, and which not even his great capacity and intense in-

could supply, was an ignorance of the principles upon which large plans are to be framed, and to be at once guided and improved. As he entered upon official duties, his time was the mercy of every one who had a claim to a grievance to complain of, or a nostrum to add; nor could the hours of which the day suffice at once to give all these their attention to transact the routine business of his station, to direct or to counteract the intrigues of court, and, at the same time, to learn all that his transplanning from the study to the Cabinet, from the Bar to the Senate, had of necessity left him.^{*}

hence, and from the temptation always in times of difficulty to avoid as much as possible all unnecessary embarrassments and all not forced upon him, arose the peculiarly marked his story, and marks it in a way not forgetful to his own renown, through after ages, unfortunate for his country. With more than any minister ever possessed—with an opinion which rather was a help than a hindrance to him during the greater part of his rule—friendly Court, an obsequious Parliament, a grateful people—he held the supreme place in the

in the conversation once rolled upon the quality required in a prime minister, Mr. Pitt said, "None is that quality."

public councils for many years, and, excepting the Union with Ireland, which was forced upon him by a rebellion, and which was both corruptly and imperfectly carried, so as to produce the smallest possible benefit to either country, he has not left a single measure behind him for which the community, whose destinies he so long swayed, has any reason to respect his memory; while, by want of firmness, he was the cause of an impolicy and extravagance, the effects of which are yet felt, and will oppress us beyond the life of the youngest now alive.

It is assuredly not to Mr. Pitt's sinking-fund that we allude, as showing his defective political resources; that scheme, now exploded, after being gradually given up by all adepts in the science of finance, was for many years their favourite; nor can he in this particular be so justly charged, as he well may in all the rest of his measures, with never having gone before his age, and not always being upon a level with the wisdom of his own times. Yet may it be confessed that, his financial administration being the main feature in his official history, all his other plans are allowed to have been failures at the time; and this, the only exception, began to be questioned before his decease, and has long been abandoned.* Neither should we visit

* It was Dr. Price's Plan; and he complained that of the three schemes proposed by him, Mr. Pitt had selected the worst.

why the entire change of his opinions upon the great question of Reform; albeit the question with which his claims to public favour commenced, and his support of which his early popularity and power were almost wholly grounded. But there must be admitted, of the defence urged for conversion, that the alarms raised in the most reflecting minds by the French Revolution, and its genuine excitement among ourselves, justified a reconsideration of the opinions originally entertained on our Parliamentary system, and might induce an honest alteration of them. But that any such considerations could ever justify him in lending himself to the persecution of his former associates that cause, may be peremptorily denied; and in proof of this denial, it may be asked, what would have been said of Mr. Wilberforce, and the other abolitionists, had they, on account of some dreadful degradation of our colonies by negro insurrection, suddenly joined in proscribing and persecuting all who, ever they themselves had left the cause, should have continued to devote their efforts to its promotion? But the main charge against Mr. Pitt is his having suffered himself to be led away by the alarms of the court, and the zeal of his new allies, the Burke and Windham party, from the ardent love of peace which he professed and undoubtedly felt, to the eager support of the war against France, which might well have been avoided had he but stood

firm. The deplorable consequences of this change in his conduct are too well known: they are still too sensibly felt. But are the motives of it wholly free from suspicion? *Cui bono?* was the question put by the Roman lawyer when the person really guilty of any act was sought for. "Whom does it profit?"—A similar question may often be put, without any want of charity, when we are in quest of the motives which prompted a doubtful or suspicious course of action, proved by experience to have been disastrous to the world. That, as the chief of a party, Mr. Pitt was incalculably a gainer by the event which, for a while, well-nigh annihilated the Opposition to his Ministry, and left that Opposition crippled as long as the war lasted, no man can doubt. That, independent of its breaking up the Whig party, the war gave their antagonist a constant lever wherewithal to move at will both parliament and people, as long as the sinews of war could be obtained from the resources of the country, is at least as unquestionable a fact.

But that he very soon opened his eyes to the disastrous effects of the war is certain. The violence and misrepresentations of party long concealed the truth, and left men to doubt whether or not the minister was desirous of a peace which should restore prosperity to his own country and impose bounds to the wide-spreading conquests of the enemy. It was even very confidently affirmed that

forgiving towards Mr. Wilberforce, who forward a motion which it was alleged—rough confidently alleged—forced him re-into a negotiation with France. The le contradiction of these factious slanders een given to the world by Lord Malmes- blication of his grandfather's papers—a n which I am very far from approving parts, but which bears the most honour- mony to Mr. Pitt's conduct in many particulars. No one can rise from a f the ambassador's 'Diary and Corre-' without feeling at once how amiable and le Mr. Pitt was in all the relations of e, and how sincerely desirous he was of eace with the Executive Directory, almost ice. The falsehoods caused by factious , and believed by the blindness of dupes, eived a more complete exposure.

y indeed well have felt conscious that to ver the war was not his natural vocation. nct in it betrayed no extent of views, no ing notions of policy. Anything more lace can hardly be imagined. To form tion after another in Germany, and sub- e allies with millions of free gift, or aid h profuse loans, until all the powers in vere defeated in succession, and most of er destroyed or converted into tools of the such were all the resources of his di -

matic skill. To shun any effectual co the enemy, while he wasted our milita petty expeditions; to occupy forts, an colonies, which, if France prevailed i were useless acquisitions, only increasing of the slave-trade, and carrying abroad capital, and which, if France were bea rope, would all of themselves fall into o such was the whole scheme of his warl The operations of our navy, which were as a matter of course, and would have formed, and must have led to our brill time successes, whoever was the min whether or not there was any minister be added to the account; but can have influence upon the estimate to be for belligerent administration. When, af culpable refusal to treat with Napoleon the work of his associates, and chiefly c ning school—a refusal grounded on t hope of the newly-gotten Consular p soon overthrown, he found it impossible to continue the ruinous expenditure of t retired, placing in his office a friend, wit quarrelled for refusing to retire when h den.* But the ostensible ground of his was the King's bigoted refusal to eman

* Lord Malmesbury's Papers show, in a very manner, how extremely reluctant Mr. Pitt was Mr. Addington (see *infra*, Canning).

sh catholi No | ould have more redounded his glory than this. But he resumed office in 04, refused to make any stipulation for those same tholics, and always opposed those who urged their aims, on the utterly unconstitutional ground of the ag's personal prejudices; a ground quite as solid for adding to that monarch in 1801 as for not urging in 1804. It was quite as discreditable to him at, on the same occasion, after pressing Mr. Fox on George III. as an accession of strength necessary for well carrying on the war, he agreed to take without any such accession, rather than thwart a personal antipathy, the capriciousness, the detestable antipathy of that narrow-minded and vindictive prince against the most illustrious of his objects.*

* It is a singular instance of the great effects of trivial circumstances that the following anecdote has been preserved:—During the co-operation of all parties against Mr. Edington's Government in the spring of 1804, Mr. Pitt & Mr. C. Long were one night passing the door of Fox's Club-house on their way from the House of Commons, when Mr. Pitt, who had not been there since the abolition of 1784, said he had a great mind to go in and see. His wary friend said, "I think you had better not," and turned aside the well-conceived intention. When we reflect on the high favour Mr. Pitt then was in with the King, and consider the nature of Mr. Fox as well as his friends, we can have little doubt of the cordial friendship which that night would have cemented, and that the union of the parties would have been complete.

These are heavy charges ; but I fear the world remains to be urged against the conduct of this eminent person. No man felt more strongly the subject of the African Slave Trade than he, and all who heard him are agreed that his speech against it were the finest of his noble orations. Yet did he continue for eighteen years of his life, suffering every one of his colleagues, nay, of his underlings in office, to vote against the question of Abolition, if they thought fit ; men, the least inconsiderable of whom durst no more have thwarted him upon any of the more trifling measures of his government, than they durst have thrust their heads into the fire. Even the foreign slave-trade, and the traffic which his war policy had trebled by the captured enemy's colonies, suffered to grow and prosper under the fostering influence of British capital ; and after letting years and years glide away, and hundreds of thousands be torn from their own country, and carried into perpetual misery in ours, while one stroke of the pen could, at any moment, have stopped it for ever, he only could be brought to issue, a few months before his death, the Order in Council which at length destroyed the pestilence. This is by far the gravest charge to which Mr. Pitt's memory is exposed.

If from the statesman we turn to the orator, the contrast is indeed marvellous. He is to be placed

it any doubt, in the highest class. With a
 g use of ornament, hardly indulging more in
 , or even in figurative expression, than the
 severe examples of ancient chasteness allowed
 a little variety of style, hardly any of the
 of manner—he no sooner rose than he car-
 way every hearer, and kept the attention
 nd unflagging till it pleased him to let it go;
 en

charming left his voice, that we, awhile,
 ll thought him speaking, still stood fix'd to hear."

magical effect was produced by his unbroken
 which never for a moment left the hearer in
 r doubt, and yet was not the mean fluency of
 relaxation, requiring no effort of the speaker,
 iposing on the listener a heavy task; by his
 arrangement, which made all parts of the
 complicated subject quit their entanglement,
 ll each into its place; by the clearness of his
 ents, which presented at once a picture to
 ind; by the forcible appeals to ict reason
 rong feeling, which formed the g t
 discourse; by the majesty of the dicti
 pth and fulness of the most sonorous
 ie unbending dignity of the manner, '
 eminded us that we were in the pr
 than an advocate or debater—
 : us a ruler of the people. Su
 the effects of this singular

they were as certainly produced on ordinary occasions, as in those grander displays when he rose to the height of some great argument; or indulged in vehement invective against some individual, variegated his speech with that sarcasm of which he was so great a master, and indeed so liberal in sparing an employer; although even here all was uniform and consistent; nor did anything, in the mood of mind, ever drop from him that was unsuited to the majestic frame of the whole, or could disturb the serenity of the full and copious stream rolled along.

But if such was the unfailing impression at first produced, and which, for a season absorbing all faculties, precluded all criticism; upon reflection faults and imperfections certainly were disclosed. There prevailed a monotony in the matter, as well as in the manner; and even the delightful variety which so long prevented this from being felt, was itself almost without any variety of tone. The things were said nearly in the same way; as if some curious machine, periods were rounded and flung off; as if, in like moulds, though of different sizes, ideas were shaped and brought out. The composition was correct enough, but not peculiarly felicitous; his English was sufficiently pure without being at all racy, or various, or brilliant; his style was, by Mr. Windham, called "a state paper style," in allusion to its combined dignity and

y; and the same nice observer, referring to the recently skilful way in which he balanced his sails, sailed near the wind, and seemed to disengage much whilst he kept the greater part of his strength to himself, declared that "he verily believed Mr. Pitt could speak a King's speech off-hand." His declamation was admirable, mingling force and clothing the argument, as to be good for anything declamation always must; and no more admirable from the reasoning than the heat is from metal in a stream of lava. Yet, with all this splendour, the last effect of the highest eloquence was for the most part wanting; we seldom forgot the speaker, or lost the artist in the work. He was earnest enough; he seemed quite sincere; he moved himself as he would move us; we even went along with him, and forgot *ourselves*; but we verily forgot *him*; and while thrilled with the power which his burning words diffused, or transfixed, we wonder at so marvellous a display of skill, we felt that it was admiration of a consummate art which filled us, and that after all we were present at an exhibition; gazing upon a wonderful performer indeed, but still a performer.

We have ventured to name the greatest displays of Mr. Fox's oratory; and it is fit we should attempt as much by his illustrious rival's. The speech on the war, in 1803, which, by an accident befell the gallery, was never reported, is ge-

nerally supposed to have excelled all his other performances in vehement and spirit-stirring declamation; and this may be the more easily believed when we know that Mr. Fox, in his reply, said, "The orators of antiquity would have admired, probably would have envied it." The last half he is described as having been one unbroken torrent of the most majestic declamation. Of those speeches which are in any degree preserved (though it may be remarked that the characteristics now given of his eloquence show how much of it was sure to escape even the fullest transcript that could be given of the words), the finest in all probability that upon the peace of 1783 and the Coalition when he so happily closed his magnificent peroration by that noble yet simple figure, "And if this inauspicious union be not already consummated, the name of my country I forbid the banners." By all authorities agree in placing his speech on the Slave Trade, in 1791, before any other effort of his genius; because it combined, with the most impassioned declamation, the deepest pathos, the most lively imagination, and the closest reasoning. I have it from Lord Wellesley, who sat beside him on this memorable occasion, that its effects upon Mr. Fox were manifest during the whole period of the delivery, while Mr. Sheridan expressed his feelings in the most hearty and even passionate terms; and I have it from Mr. Windham that

me lost in amazement at the compass, till
own to him, of human eloquence. It is
former source of information that I derive
lar fact of the orator's health at the time
as to require his retirement immediately
rose, in order to take a medicine required
g the violent irritation of his stomach.
however, be added, that he was from the
shed debater, although certainly practice
abit of command had given him more
ickness in perceiving an advantage and
himself of an opening, as it were, in the
attle, with the skill and the rapidity
our Wellington, in an instant, perceiv-
lums of Marmont somewhat too widely
executed the movement that gave him
y of Salamanca. So did Mr. Pitt over-
great antagonist on the Regency, and in
r conflicts. It may be further observed,
r was any kind of eloquence, or any cast
more perfectly suited to the position of
re Government forces, keeping up the
his followers under disaster, encouraging
and a galling adverse fire, above all, pre-
hem and the friendly though neutral
the audience, with reasons or with plau-
exts for giving the Government that sup-
h the one class desired to give, and the
no disposition to withhold. The effects

which his calm and dignified, yet earnest, manner produced on these classes, and the impression which it left on their minds, have been admirably portrayed by one of the most able among them and with his well-chosen words this imperfect sketch of so great a subject may be closed:—"Every part of his speaking, in sentiment, in language, and in delivery, evidently bore the stamp of his character. All communicated a definite and varied apprehension of the qualities of strenuousness without bustle, unlaboured intrepidity, and severe greatness."*

Nothing that we have yet said of this extraordinary person has touched upon his private character, unless so far as the graver faults of the politician must ever border upon the vices or the frailties of the man. But it must be admitted, what even his enemies were willing to confess, that in his failings, or in his delinquencies, there was nothing mean, paltry, or low. His failings were ascribed to love of power and of glory; and pride was the harshest feature that disfigured him to the public eye. We doubt if this can all be said with perfect justice; still more that, if it could, any satisfactory defence would thus be made. The

* *Quarterly Review*, August, 1819.—Supposed by some to be by Mr. J. H. Frere, but avowedly by an intimate personal friend. I have ascertained it to be the work of my late lamented friend Sir Robert Grant.

ambition cannot be pronounced very lofty which showed that place, mere high station, was so dear to it as to be sought without regard to its just concomitant, power, and clung by, after being stript of this, the only attribute that can recommend it to noble minds. Yet he well described his office as "the pride of his heart and the pleasure of his life," when boasting that he had sacrificed it to his engagements with Ireland at the Union; and then, within a very short period, he proved that the pleasure and the pride were far too dearly loved to let him think of that tie when he again grasped them, wholly crippled, and deprived of all power to carry a single measure of importance. Nor can any thirst for power itself, any ambition, be it of the most exalted kind, ever justify the measures which he contrived for putting to death those former coadjutors of his own, whose leading object was reform; even if they had overstepped the bounds of law, in the pursuit of their common purpose. His conduct on the slave-trade falls within the same view; and leaves a dark shade resting upon his reputation as a man, a shade which, God be praised, few would take, to be the lot of orators and greatest of ministers.

In private life he was singularly amiable; his spirits were naturally buoyant and even playful; his affections warm; his veracity scrupulously exact; his integrity wholly without a stain; and,

although he was, from his situation, cut off from most of the relations of domestic life, as a son and a brother he was perfect, and no man was more fondly beloved or more sincerely mourned by his friends.*

It was a circumstance broadly distinguishing the parliamentary position of the two great leaders whom we have been surveying, that while the one had to fight the whole battle of his government for many years, the first and most arduous* of his life if not single handed, yet with but one coadjutor and any power, the other was surrounded by "troops of friends," any one of whom might well have borne the foremost part. Against such men as Burke, Windham, Sheridan, North, Erskine, Lord Barré,—Mr. Pitt could only set Mr. Dundas; and it is certainly the most astonishing part of his history, that against such a phalanx, backed by the majority of the Commons, he could struggle

* The story told of his refusing to marry Mademoiselle Necker (afterwards Madame de Staël), when the match was proposed by the father, rests upon a true foundation; but the form of the answer, "That he was already married to his country," has, unless it was a jest, which is very possible, more foundation than the dramatic exit described by Mr. Rose in the House of Commons, when he stated "Oh my country" to have been his last words—though it is certain that, for many hours, he only uttered incoherent sentences. Such things were too theatrical for so great a man, and too vulgar a caste for so consummate a performer, had stooped to play a part in such circumstances.

the first session of his administration. had it not been for the support which he both from the Court and the Lords, and People, who were justly offended with the coalition of his adversaries, that session not only have been marvellous but impossible.

MR. SHERIDAN.

OF Mr. Fox's adherents who have just been named the most remarkable certainly was Mr. Sheridan and with all his faults, and all his failings, and all his defects, the first in genius and greatest in power. When the illustrious name of Erskine appears in the bright catalogue, it is unnecessary to add that we here speak of parliamentary genius and political power.

These sketches as naturally begin with a notice of the means by which the great rhetorical combatants were brought up, and trained and armed for the conflict, as Homer's battles do with the buckling on of armour and other notes of preparation, when he brings his warriors forward upon the scene. Of Mr. Sheridan, any more than of Mr. Burke, it cannot be lamented, as of almost all other English statesmen, that he came prematurely into public life, without time given for preparation by study. Yet this time in his case had been otherwise spent than in Mr. Burke's. Though his education had not been neglected, for he was educated at Harrow, and with Dr. Parr, yet he was an

restless boy, learning as little as possible, and
 ; as much wretchedness ; an avowal which
 and of his life he never ceased to make, and
 in a very affecting manner. Accordingly,
 ght away from school a very slender pro-
 of classical learning ; and his taste, never
 or chaste, was wholly formed by acquaint-
 th the English poets and dramatists, and
 a few of our more ordinary prose-writers ;
 o other language could he read with any-
 pproaching to ease. Of those poets, he
 fessed to admire and to have studied Dry-
 e plainly *had* most studied Pope, whom he
 vilified and always imitated. But of dra-
 his passion evidently was Congreve, and
 m, Vanbrugh, Farquhar, even Wycherley ;
 hom served for the model, partly even for
 gazine of his own dramatic writings, as
 id of his verses. ‘The Duenna,’ however,
 ed after the fashion of Gay ; of whom it
 rther short than the ‘School for Scandal’
 Congreve. That his plays were great pro-
 s for any age, astonishing for a youth of
 three and twenty-five, is unquestionable.
 has accounted for the phenomenon of
 ve, at a still earlier period of life, showing
 nowledge of the world, by observing that,
 ose examination, his dialogues and charac-
 ght have been gathered from books “ with-

out much actual commerce with mankind." same can hardly be said of the 'School for dal;' but the author wrote it when he was years older than Congreve had been at the the 'Old Bachelor.'

Thus with an ample share of literary and dramatic reputation, but not certainly of the most auspicious for a statesman; with a moderate provision of knowledge at all likely to be in political affairs; with a position by birth and profession little suited to command the respect of the most aristocratic country in Europe—that of an actor, the manager himself of a theatre—he came into that parliament which was enlightened by the vast and various knowledge, as well as refined and adorned by the more choice literary attainments of a Burke, and which owned the sway of summate orators like Fox and Pitt. His effort was unambitious, and it was unsuccessful. Aiming at but a low flight, he failed in his humble attempt. An experienced judge, Wood told him "It would never do;" and counselled him to seek again the more congenial atmosphere of Drury-lane. But he was resolved that it should do; he had taken his part; and, as the matter was in him, he vowed not to desist till he had brought it out." What he wanted in acumen and learning, and in natural quickness, he made up by indefatigable industry: within given limits, to

nt object, no labour could daunt him; no ould work for a season with more steady wearied application. By constant practice ll matters, or before private committees, by t attendance upon all debates, by habitual urse with all dealers in political wares, from efs of parties and their more refined coteries providers of daily discussion for the public e chroniclers of parliamentary speeches, he himself to a facility of speaking, absolutely l to all but first-rate genius; and all but ry even to that; and he acquired what stance with the science of politics he ever ed, or his speeches ever betrayed. By these e rose to the rank of a first-rate speaker, great a debater as a want of readiness and r preparation would permit.

had some qualities which led him to this nd which only required the habit of speech g them out into successful exhibition; a imagination, though more prone to repeat ariations the combinations of others, or to e anew their creations, than to bring forth l productions; a fierce, dauntless spirit of ; a familiarity, acquired from his dramatic , with the feelings of the heart and the ways ch its chords; a facility of epigram and the yet more direct gift of the same theatri-prenticeship; an excellent manner not un-

connected with that experience; and a depth of voice which perfectly suited the tone of his declamation, be it invective, or be it descriptive, or be it impassioned. His wit, derived from the same source, or sharpened by the same previous habits, was eminently brilliant, and almost always successful; it was like all his speaking, exceedingly prepared, but it was skilfully introduced and happily applied; and it was well mingled also with humour, occasionally descending to farce. How little it was the inspiration of the moment all men were aware who knew his habits; but a singular proof of this was presented by Mr. Moore when he came to write his life; for we there find given to the world, with a frankness which must almost have made their author shake in his grave, the secret note-books of this famous wit; and are thus enabled to trace the jokes, in embryo, with which he had so often made the walls of St. Stephen's shake, in a merriment excited by the happy appearance of sudden unpremeditated effusion.*

* Take an instance from this author, giving extracts from the common-place book of the wit:—"He employs his fancy in his narrative, and keeps his recollections for his wit." Again, the same idea is expanded into—"When he makes his jokes you applaud the accuracy of his memory, and 't is only when he states his facts that you admire the flights of his imagination." But the thought was too good to be thus wasted on the desert air of a common-place book. So forth it came at the expense of Kelly, who, having been

witness with which he turned to account
 asions of popular excitement, and often
 sense of the Whig party, generally too
 to such advantages, and too insensible
 age they thus sustained in public estima-
 ll known. On the mutiny in the fleet,
 yond all question right ; on the French
 nd on the attacks upon Napoleon, he
 as certainly wrong ; but these appeals
 ple and to the national feelings of the
 ded to make the orator well received, if
 little to the statesman's reputation ; and
 er character he was not ambitious. His
 rated speech was certainly the one upon
 im Charge " in the proceedings against
 and nothing can exceed the accounts
 as unprecedented success. Not only the
 en first began, which has gradually
 ill it greets every good speech, of cheer-
 e speaker resuming his seat, but the
 sought the House to adjourn the decision
 tion, as being incapacitated from form-

f music, became a wine merchant. " You will,"
 y wit, " import your music and compose your
 was this service exacted from the old idea
 cient—so in the House of Commons an easy
 ly off-hand parenthesis was thus filled with it
 us's cost and charge " (who generally resorts to
 for his jokes, and to his imagination for his

ing a just judgment under the influence of such powerful eloquence ; while all men on all sides vied with each other in extolling so wonderful a performance. Nevertheless, the opinion has now become greatly prevalent, that a portion of this success was owing to the speech having so greatly surpassed all the speaker's former efforts ; to the extreme interest of the topics which the subject naturally presented ; and to the artist-like elaboration and beautiful delivery of certain fine passages, rather than to the merits of the whole. Certain it is, that the repetition of great part of it, presented in the short-hand notes of the speech on the same charge in Westminster Hall, disappoints every reader who has heard of the success which attended the earlier effort. In truth, Mr. Sheridan's taste was very far from being chaste, or even moderately correct ; he delighted in gaudy figures ; he was attracted by glare ; and cared not whether the brilliancy came from tinsel or gold, from broken glass or pure diamond ; he overlaid his thoughts with epigrammatic diction ; he "played to the galleries," and indulged them, of course, with an endless succession of clap-traps. His worst passages by far were those which he evidently preferred himself ;—full of imagery often far fetched, oftener gorgeous, and loaded with point that drew the attention of the hearer away from the thoughts to the words ; and his best by far were those where

med, with his deep clear voice, though thick utterance, with a fierce defiance of necessity, or an unappeasable vengeance some oppressive act ; or reasoned rapidly, in a strong tone, upon some plain matter of fact, and as plainly to homely ridicule some sophism ; and in all this, his admirable countenance aided by an eye singularly piercing,* countenance which, though coarse, and even features gross, was yet animated and expressive, and could easily assume the figure of both menace, and scorn. The few sentences which he thrilled the House on the liberty of the press in 1810 were worth, perhaps, more than a hundred elaborated epigrams and forced flowers on the Minister in Charge, or all his denunciations of the Government ; “ whose morning orisons and evening prayers were for the conquest of England, whether to the God of Battles or worships the God of Reason ;” † certainly far better than the pomp and splendour of his power, as his having “ thrones and battlements, kings for his sentinels, and standards of his castle sceptres stuck with bayonets.”

“ Give them,” said he in 1810, and in the same strain of eloquence, “ a corrupt House of Commons ; give them a venal House of Commons ; give them a tyrannical Prince ; give them a truck-shed for a throne. It had the singularity of never winking.

† 1802.

‡ 1807.

ling Court,—and let me but have an unfettered press; I will defy them to encroach a hair's-bread upon the liberties of England.”* Of all his speeches there can be little doubt that the most powerful and the most chaste, was his reply, in 1805, upon a motion which he had made for repealing the Defence Act. Mr. Pitt had unwarily thrown a sneer at his support of Mr. Addington, as though it was insidious. Such a stone, cast by a person whose house on that aspect was one pane of glass, could not fail to call down a shower of missiles, and they who witnessed the looks and gesture of the aggressor under the pitiless pelting of the tempest which he had provoked, represent it as certain that there were moments when he intended to fasten a personal quarrel upon the vehement and implacable declaimer.†

When the just tribute of extraordinary admiration has been bestowed upon this great orator, the whole of his praise has been exhausted. As a statesman, he is without a place in any class, or any rank; it would be incorrect and flattering to call him a bad, or a hurtful, or a short-sighted, or a middling statesman; he was no statesman at

* 1810.

† Mr. Sheridan wrote his speech during the debate in a coffee-house near the Hall; and it is reported most accurately in the Parliamentary debates, apparently from his own notes.

party man, his character stood lower than it
ed, chiefly from certain personal dislikes
is him; for, with the perhaps doubtful ex-
n of his courting popularity at his party's
e on the two occasions already mentioned,
e much more serious charge against him of
ing his party in the Carlton House negotia-
1812, followed by his extraordinary denial
facts when he last appeared in Parliament,
an nothing be laid to his charge as incon-
with the rules of the strictest party duty
mour; although he made as large sacrifices
unprofessional man ever did to the cause of
and hopeless Opposition, and was often
l with unmerited coldness and disrespect by
adjutors. But as a man, his character stood
edly low: his intemperate habits, and his
ary embarrassments, did not merely tend to
lent conduct, by which himself alone might
sufferer; they involved his family in the
ite; and they also undermined those prin-
of honesty which are so seldom found to
fallen fortunes, and hardly ever can con-
he ornament and the stay of ruined cir-
nces, when the tastes and the propensities
ered in prosperous times survive through
enial season of adversity. Over the frailties
en the faults of genius, it is permitted to
veil, after marking them as much as the

interests of virtue require, in order to warn against the evil example, and preserve the sacred flame bright and pure from such unworthy and unseemly contamination.

MR. WINDHAM.

the members of his party, to whom we ded as agreeing ill with Mr. Sheridan, and him with little deference, Mr. Windham most distinguished. The advantages of a assical education, a lively wit of the most and yet abstruse description, a turn for asoning, drawing nice distinctions, and remote analogies, great and early know-the world, familiarity with men of letters sts, as well as politicians, with Burke, and Reynolds, as well as with Fox and such acquaintance with constitutional his-principle, a chivalrous spirit, a noble singularly expressive countenance—all s remarkable person to shine in debate; all, when put together, unequal to the using him to the first rank ; and were, be-ngled with defects which exceedingly im-re impression of his oratory, while they ed his usefulness and injured his reputation sman. For he was too often the dupe of ingenuity ; which made him doubt and

balance, and gave an oscillancy fatal to vigour of council, as well as most prejudicial to the effects of eloquence, by breaking the force of his blows when they fell. His nature, too, perhaps owing to this hesitating disposition, was to be a follower, if not a worshipper, rather than an original thinker or actor; as if he felt some relief under the doubt which harassed him from so many quarters, thus taking shelter under a master's wing, and devolving upon a less scrupulous balancer of conflicting reasons, the task of trimming the scale and forming his opinions for him. Accordingly first Johnson in private, and afterwards Burke on political matters, were the deities whom he adored, and he adhered manfully to the strong opinions of the latter, though oftentimes painfully compelled to suppress his sentiments, all the time that he too counselled with Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, who would only consent to conduct the French war upon principles far lower and more compromising than those of the great anti-Jacobin and anti-Gallican leader. But when untrammelled by official connexion, and having his lips sealed by no decorum or prudence or other observance prescribed by station, it was a brave sight to see this gallant personage descend into the field of debate panting for the fray, eager to confront any man or any number of men that might prove his match, scorning all the little suggestions of a paltry dis-

n, heedless of every risk of retort to which
 ight expose himself, as regardless of popular
 use as of Court favour, nay, from his natural
 of danger and disdain of everything like fear,
 ng into the most offensive expression of the
 unpopular opinions with as much alacrity as
 inced in braving the power and daring the
 y of the Crown. Nor was the style of his
 ing at all like that of other men's. It was in
 ay tone of familiar conversation; but it was
 f nice observation and profound remark; it
 nstinct with classical allusion; it was even
 nformed with philosophic and with learned
 tion; it sparkled with the finest wit—a wit
 was as far superior to Sheridan's, as his to
 ambols of the Clown, or the movements of
 loon; and his wit, how exuberant soever, still
 d to help on the argument, as well as to illus-
 the meaning of the speaker. He was, how-
 in the main, a serious, a persuasive speaker,
 words plainly flowed from deep and vehe-
 and long considered, and well weighed, feel-
 of the heart. *Erat summa gravitas; erat cum*
ate junctus facetiarum et urbanitatis oratorius
currilis lepos. Latine loquendi accurata et
rolestiâ diligens elegantia. (Cic. Brut.)
 e rock on which he so often made shipwreck
 ate, and still oftener in council or action,
 at love of paradox, on which the tide of his

exuberant ingenuity naturally carried him, as it does many others, who, finding so much more may be said in behalf of an untenable position than at first sight appeared possible to themselves, or than ordinary minds can at any time apprehend, begin to bear with the erroneous dogma, and end by adopting it.*

" They first endure, then pity, then embrace."

So he was, from the indomitable bravery of his disposition, and his loathing of everything mean, or that savoured of truckling to mere power, not unfrequently led to prefer a course of conduct, or a line of argument, because of their running counter to public opinion or the general feeling; instead of confining his disregard to popularity within just bounds, and holding on his course in pursuit of truth and right, in spite of its temporary disfavour with the people. With these errors there was generally much truth mingled, or at least much that was manifestly wrong tinged the tenets or the conduct he was opposing; yet he was not the less an unsafe counsellor, and in debate a dangerously. His conduct on the Volunteer question, the

* They who have been engaged in professional business with the late Mr. John Clerk (afterwards Lord Eldon) may recollect how often that great lawyer was carried away to entertain paradoxical opinions exactly by the process here described.

of the City with Military Rewards,agements of the People, and Cruelty toafforded instances of this mixed descrip-e he was led into error by resistingal error on the opposite hand; yet doions also afford proof of the latter partgoing proposition; for what sound orw could justify his hostility to all volun-e, his reprobation of all expression ofitude for the services of our soldiers andunqualified defence of bull-baiting, hisof all checks upon cruelty towards thetion? Upon other subjects of stillort his paradoxes stood prominent ands; unredeemed by ingenuity, unpalliated: exaggeration, and even unmitigated byure of truth. He defended the Slavech he had at first opposed, only becauseRoyalists were injured by the revoltown follies had occasioned in St. Do-resisted all mitigation of our Criminalbecause it formed a part of our anti-sprudence, like trial by battle, nay byfire and water; and he opposed everyEducating the People. It required allerness towards undoubted sincerity anderestedness to think charitably of suchheresies in such a man. It demandedarity and all this faith in the spotless

honour of his character, to believe that such opinions could really be the convictions of a man like his. It was the greatest tribute which could be paid to his sterling merit, his fine parts, his rare accomplishments, that, in spite of such wild allegations, he was still admired and beloved.

To convey any notion of his oratory by giving passages of his speeches is manifestly impossible. Of the mixed tenderness and figure in which he sometimes indulged, his defence of the military policy pursued by him while in office against the attempts made to change it the year after, might be mentioned; the fine speech, especially, in which on taking leave of the subject, after comparing the two plans of recruiting our army to a dead stick thrust into the ground and a living sapling planted to take root in the soil, he spoke of carving his name upon the tree as lovers do when they would perpetuate the remembrance of their passions and their misfortunes. Of his happy allusions to the writings of kindred spirits an example, but not all above their average merit, is afforded in his speech upon the peace of Amiens, when he answered the remarks upon the uselessness of the Royal title, then given up, of King of France, in citing the bill of costs brought in by Dean Swift against Marlborough, and the comparative account of the charges of a Roman triumph, where the crown of laurel is set down at twopence. B

ies he would convulse the House by a happy, g, and most unexpected allusion ; as when Walcheren question, speaking of a *coup-de* on Antwerp, which had been its professed , he suddenly said, " A *coup-de-main* in the dt ! You might as well talk of a *coup-de* in the Court of Chancery." Sir William it having just entered and taken his seat, properly suggested this excellent jest ; and assuredly man enjoyed it more. His habitual gravity overpowered in an instant, and he was seen obately to roll about on the bench which he had t occupied. So a word or two artistically introduced would often serve him to cover the adverse gument with ridicule. When arguing that they ho would protect animals from cruelty have more their hands than they are aware of, and that ey cannot stop at preventing cruelty, but must o prohibit killing, he was met by the old answer, at we kill them to prevent them overrunning the rth, and then he said in passing, and, as it were, renthetically—" An indifferent reason, by the ay, for destroying fish." His two most happy d picturesque, though somewhat caricatured, descriptions of Mr. Pitt's diction, have been already entioned : that it was a state-paper style, and that believed he could speak a King's speech off and. His gallantry in facing all attacks wn own daily ; and how little he cared for allusior

to the offensive expressions treasured up against him, and all the more easily remembered because of the epigrams in which he had embalmed them might be seen from the way he himself would refer to them, as if not wishing they should be forgotten. When some phrase of his, long after it was first used, seemed to invite attack, and a great challenge followed, as if he had unwittingly fallen into a scrape, he stopped and added, "Why, I said it for purpose!" or, as he pronounced it, "a purpose for no man more delighted in the old pronunciation, as well as the pure Saxon idiom of our language, which yet he could enrich and dignify with the importations of classical phraseology.

From what has been said of Mr. Windham's manner of speaking, as well as of his variously embellished mind, it will readily be supposed that in society he was destined to shine almost without a rival. His manners were the most polished, and noble, and courteous, without the least approach to pride, or affectation, or condescension; his spirits were, in advanced life, so gay, that he was always younger than the youngest of his company: his relish of conversation was such, that, after lingering to the latest moment, he joined whatever party, sultry evening (or morning, as it might chance to prove) tempted to haunt the streets before retiring to rest. How often have we accompanied him to the door of his own mansion, and then been

ded by him to our own, while the streets rang
 with the peals of his hearty merriment, or echoed
 the accents of his refined and universal wit ! But
 in conversation, or grave, or gay, or argumenta-
 tive, or discursive, whether sifting a difficult sub-
 ject, or painting an interesting character, or pur-
 suing a merely playful fancy, or lively to very
 gallantry, or pensive and pathetic, or losing itself in
 the clouds of metaphysics, or vexed with paradox,
 or plain and homely, and all but commonplace,
 as that which, to be understood, must have been
 adapted to ; and, while over the whole was flung a
 veil of unrent classical elegance, through no cre-
 vice, had there been any, would ever an unkind or
 ill-conditioned sentiment have found entrance !

" Scilicet omne sacrum mors importuna profanat,
 Omnibus obscuras injicit ille manus—
 Ossa quæta precor, tutâ requiescite in urnâ ;
 Et sit humus cineri non onerosa tuo !"^{*}

Relentless death each purer form profanes,
 Round all that's fair his dismal arms he throws—
 Light lie the earth that shrouds thy loved remains,
 And softly slumbering may they taste repose !

MR. DUNDAS.

IF we turn from those whose common principles and party connexion ranged them against Mr. Pitt, to the only effectual supporter whom he could rely upon as a colleague on the Treasury Bench, we shall certainly find ourselves contemplating a personage of very inferior pretensions, although one whose powers were of the most useful description. Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville, had no claim whatever to those higher places among the orators of his age, which were naturally filled by the great men whom we have been describing; nor indeed could he be deemed *inter oratorum numerum* at all. He was a plain, business-like speaker; a man of every-day talents in the House; a clear, easy, fluent, and, from much practice, as well as strong and natural sense, a skilful debater; successful in profiting by an adversary's mistakes; distinct in opening a plan and defending a Ministerial proposition; capable of producing even a great effect upon his not unwilling audience by his broad and coarse appeals to popular prejudices, and his confident statements of facts—those statements

, Sir Francis Burdett once happily observed, "I fall into through an inveterate habit of assertion." In his various offices no one more useful. He was an admirable man of business; and those professional habits which he brought from the bar (where he practised long before for a youth of his fortunate family to reach the highest official place) were not more serviceable in making his speeches perspicuous, and his reasoning logical, than they were in disciplining him to the drudgery of the desk, and helping him to systematise, as well as to direct, the management of his department. After quitting the profession of the law, to which, indeed, he had for the last of the later years of Lord North's Administration only nominally belonged, and leaving also the office of Lord Advocate, which he retained for several years after, he successively filled the place of Minister for India, for the Home and War Departments, and for Naval Affairs. But it was in the midst of these capacities, while at the head of the Board, and while Chairman of the Committee of the Commons upon India, that his great capacity always shone chiefly forth; and that he gave abundant long-continued proof of an indefatigable industry, which neither the distractions of debate in Parliament, nor the convivial habits of the man in private times, ever could interrupt or relax. He celebrated Reports upon all the complicated

questions of our Asiatic policy, although they may not stand a comparison with some of Mr. Burke in the profundity and enlargement of general view, any more than their style can be compared with his, are nevertheless performances of the great merit, and repositories of information upon this vast subject, unrivalled for clearness and extent. They, together with Lord Wellesley's Despatches, form the sources from which the bulk of all our knowledge possessed upon Indian matters is to be derived by the statesmen of the present day.

If in his official departments, and in the contests of Parliament, Mr. Dundas rendered able service, and possessed great weight, it was in Scotland, his native country, whose language he spoke, and whose whole affairs he directed, that his power and his authority chiefly prevailed. Before the reform in our representation and our municipal institutions, the undisturbed possession of patronage by a leading member of the Government was very sure to carry along with it a paramount influence, both over the representatives of this ancient kingdom and over their constituents. With the submission to men in high place, and endowed with the power of conferring many favours, there have been so much more absolute in the north than in the southern parts of our island, it would be needless to inquire. Whether it arose from old feudal habits of the nation, or from its poverty

ained with a laudable ambition to rise in the world above the pristine station, or from the wary and provident character of the people; certain it is that they displayed a devotion for their political superiors, and a belief in their infallibility, which could have done no discredit to the clansmen of those chieftains who whilom both granted out the lands of the sept, retained the stipulated services of the vassal, and enjoyed the rights of jurisdiction and of punishment, whereby obedience was secured, and zealous attachment stimulated in its alliance with wholesome terror.

That Mr. Dundas enjoyed this kind of ministerial sovereignty and received this homage in a more ample measure than any of his predecessors, is, no doubt, owing partly to the unhesitating and unqualified determination which regulated his conduct, of devoting his whole patronage to the support of his party, and to the extent of that patronage, from his being so long minister for Scotland, as well as having the whole Scottish preference at his absolute disposal; but it was also in part owing to the engaging qualities of the man. A steady and determined friend, who only stood faster by those that wanted him the more; nay, who even in their errors or their faults would not give up his adherents: an agreeable companion, with the joyous hilarity of his manners; void of affectation, all pride, all pretension; a kind

affectionate man in the relations of private life and, although not always sufficiently regardful of strict decorum in certain particulars, yet not putting on the Pharisee's garb, or affecting a more "gracious state" than he had attained; friendly and self-denying to those inferiors in his department whose comforts so much depended upon him; his demeanour hearty and good-humoured to all; it is difficult to figure any one more calculated to win over those whom his mere power and station had failed to attach; or better fitted to retain the friends whom accident or influence might originally have attached to his person. That he should for so many years have disposed of the votes of Parliament of nearly the whole Scottish commoners, and the whole Peers, was, therefore, little to be wondered at; that his popularity and influence in the country at large should have been boundless during all this period, is as easily to be understood. There was then no doubt ever raised of the ministry's stability, or of Mr. Dundas's ample share in the dispensation of its favours. The political sky was clear and settled to the very verge of the horizon. There was nothing to disturb the hearts of anxious mortals. The wary and pensive Scot felt sure of his election, if he kept by the true faith; and his path lay straight before him—the path of righteous devotion leading unto a blessed preferment. But our Norther-

men were fated to be visited by some trouble. The heavens became overcast; their lights for a while concealed from devout eyes; they sought him, but he was not. Uncouth began to be named. More than two parties looked off. Instead of the old, convenient, intelligible alternative of "Pitt or Fox"—or poverty,"—which left no doubt in any mind which of the two to choose, there was—strange sight!—hateful and perplexing—a Ministry without Pitt, nay, without Fox, and an Opposition leaning towards its rival. Those who are old enough to remember the last interval may recollect how the public mind in Scotland was subdued with awe, and how awaited in trembling silence the uncertain hour when all living things quail during the solemn calm that precedes an earthquake. It was in truth a crisis to try men's souls. For all was uncertainty and consternation; all men fluttering about like birds in an eclipse under-storm; no man could tell whom he must trust; nay, worse still, no man could tell of whom he might ask anything. It was hard to say, who were in office, but who were likely to resign office. All true Scots were in dismay and confusion. It might truly be said they knew not what way to look, or whither to turn. Perhaps they might yet more truly said that they knew

when to turn. But such a crisis was too short-lived; it passed away; and then was to be the proof of Mr. Dundas's power amongst his countrymen, which transcended all expectation, and surpassed belief, if indeed it is not rather viewed as an evidence of the acute foresight and political second-sight—of the Scottish nation. A trusty band in both Houses actually were adhering to him against the existing Government, he held the proxies of many Scottish Members in open opposition! Well might his colleagues claim to the hapless Addington in such untroubled times, “Doctor, the Thanes fly from us!” the very Scotch Peers wavered, and when the Grampian hills might next be expected to be about, it was time to think that the end of all things was at hand: and the return of peace and security, and patronage and Dundas, speedily succeeded to bless old Scotland, and reward her loyalty and her fidelity—her attachment to her patron and to herself.

The subject of Lord Melville cannot be complete without some mention of the event which finally deprived him of place and of power, it hardly ever lowered him in the respect and opinions of his countrymen. We allude, of course, to the Resolutions carried by Mr. Whitbread on the 8th of April, 1805, with the Speaker's voice, which led to the immediate resignation

t impeachment, of this distinguished per-
 Pitt defended him strenuously, and only
 alled to abandon his friend and colleague
 e of the Commons, which gave him a
 ang," that as he pronounced the word
 hall resound, and seems yet to fill the
 after his death, while the Government
 s rival's hands, and all the offices of the
 e filled with the enemies of the accused,
 ville was brought to trial before his
 l by a large majority acquitted, to the
 versal satisfaction of the country. Have
 ght to regard him as guilty after this
 ;? It is true that the spirit of party is
 ith the event of this memorable trial;
 thing of that spirit preside over the pro-
 the Commons, the grand inquest of the
 ich made the presentment, and put the
 pon his trial? That Lord Melville was
 nan, and wholly indifferent about money,
 life had shown. That he had replaced
 sum temporarily used, was part even of
 ent which charged him with misemploy-
 hat Mr. Pitt, whom no one ever accused
 ion, had been a party to two of his sup-
 ing four times as much of the public
 a time, and without paying interest, was
 proved; though, for the purpose of
 more severely upon Lord Melville, a

great alacrity was shown to acquit the Minister, by way of forming a contrast to the surer of the Navy. In a word, the case against him was not by any means so clear as to give us the right to charge the great majority of Peers with corrupt and dishonourable conduct in acquitting him; while it is a known fact that the Judges who attended the trial were, with the exception of the Lord Chief Justice, all clearly convinced of his innocence. Nor, let it be said, would the charge against him have been deemed in the times of the Harleys and the Walpoles a nature to stain his character. Witness Walpole rising to supreme power after being expelled from the House of Commons for corruption; and after being only urged, in his own defence, that the thousand pounds paid to him by a contractor had been for the use of a friend, whom he desired to favour and to whom he had paid it all over; notwithstanding his having received above seventeen thousand pounds, under circumstances of the gravest suspicion, the day before he quitted office, and he never seems to have accounted for, except by saying he had the King's authority to take it.

* Mr. Coxe, in his life of Walpole, cannot, of course, defend the defence on higher ground than Walpole himself. He states that Walpole received the sum of 1000*l.* on the contract, in 1711, when Secretary at War. As to the sum reported by the House of Commons' Committee (17,461*l.*) to have been obtained

tain that these remarks will give little to those whose political principles have set them apart from, and inimical to, Lord

But to what purpose have men lived for many years after the trial, and survived the charge more than a quarter of a century cannot now, and upon a mere judicial

, on the authority of two Treasury orders, the main argument is, that the money must have lately wanted for public purposes, though these particularised, and that the king must have the draft, because he signed the warrants. A vice cannot well be conceived; nor is it much assertion which follows, that Sir Robert began indication of himself which he broke off "on a at his answer must either have been materially he must have related many things highly im- exposed to the public." The fact of a man, te of about 2000*l.* a-year at first, and which much above 4000*l.*, having lived extravagantly, above 200,000*l.*, is not at all explained by Mr. t is mainly on this expensive living and accu- fortune that the suspicions which hang over his

But it is needless to say more upon a topic form no justification of Lord Melville if he

The subject is only alluded to in this place use of showing how much more pure our public e, and how much higher is our standard of e. The acquittal of Lord Melville was deemed o sanction his restoration to office; although Sir ole, without any attempt to rescind the vote of afterwards advanced to the place of Prime l held it for twenty years.

question, permit their judgments to have scope,—deciding calmly upon events that to the history of the past, and involve the reputation of the dead?

MR. ERSKINE.

stry of Mr. Pitt did not derive more
 ce from the Bar in the person of Mr.
 an the Opposition party did ornament
 rity in that of Mr. Erskine. His par-
 talents, although they certainly have
 rated, were as clearly not the prominent
 his character. Nevertheless, it must be
 at, had he appeared in any other period
 ge of the Foxes, the Pitts, and the
 ere is little chance that he would have
 ed even as a debater; and the singular
 and powerful effect of his famous speech
 : Jesuit's Bark Bill, in the House of
 indantly proves this position. He never
 have given his whole mind to the prac-
 ting; he had a very scanty provision
 information; his time was always occu-
 he laborious pursuits of his profession;
 nto the House of Commons, where he
 g several equals, and behind some supe-
 a stage where he shone alone, and with-

* 1808.

out a rival ; above all, he was accustomed to address a select and friendly audience, bound to lend him their patient attention, and to address them by the compulsion of his retainer, not as a volunteer coming forward in his own person ; a position from which the transition is violent and extreme, to that of having to gain and to keep a promiscuous and in great part, hostile audience, not under any obligation to listen one instant beyond the time during which the speaker can flatter, or interest, or amuse them. Earlier practice and more devotion to the pursuit would doubtless have vanquished all the disadvantages ; but they sufficed to keep Mr. Burke always in a station far beneath his talents, long as he remained in the House of Commons.

It is to the Forum, and not the Senate, that we must hasten, if we would witness the "*coram multiplicem, judicium erectum, crebras assensibus multas admirationes, risum cum velit, cum vultum, in Scenâ Roscium* ;" in fine, if we would see this great man in his element and in his glory. Nor let it be deemed trivial, or beneath the historian's province, to mark that noble figure, the look of whose countenance is expressive, the motion of whose form graceful ; an eye that speaks and pierces, and almost assures victory, which "*speaks audience ere the tongue.*" Jurists declared that they felt it impossible to remove their looks from him when he had riveted and, as it were,

ascinated them by his first glance; and it used to be a common remark of men who observed his motions, that they resembled those of a blood-horse; light, as limber, as much betokening strength and speed, as free from all gross superfluity or inbrance. Then hear his voice of surpassing sweetness, clear, flexible, strong, exquisitely fitted to strains of serious earnestness, deficient in compass, indeed, and much less fitted to express indignation, or even scorn, than pathos, but wholly free from either harshness or monotony. All these, however, and even his chaste, dignified, and appropriate action, were very small parts of this wonderful advocate's excellence. He had a thorough knowledge of men—of their passions and their feelings—he knew every avenue to the heart, and could will make all its chords vibrate to his touch. His fancy, though never playful in public, where he had his whole faculties under the most severe control, was lively and brilliant; when he gave it vent and scope, it was eminently sportive; but while representing his client, it was wholly subservient to that in which his whole soul was wrapped, and to which each faculty of body and of mind was subdued—the success of the cause. His argumentative powers were of the highest order; clear in his statements, close in his applications, unvaried and never to be diverted in his deductions; with a quick and sure perception of his point, and

undeviating in the pursuit of whatever it was; endued with a nice discernment of the importance and weight of different arguments; the faculty of assigning to each its proper place, so as to bring forward the main body of reasoning in bold relief, and with its full force, without weaken its effect by distracting and dividing the attention of the audience among less important particulars. His understanding was eminent, though he had never made himself a great lawyer; yet could he conduct a purely legal argument to the most perfect success; and his familiarity with all the ordinary matters of his profession was abundantly sufficient for the purposes of a lawyer. His memory was accurate and retentive to an extraordinary degree; nor did he ever, in the trial of a cause, forget any matter, however small, that belonged to it. His presence of mind was perfect in action, that is, before the judge, when a line is to be taken upon the instant, a question is to be risked to a witness, or a topic chosen for discussion at the tribunal, on which the whole fate of the cause depended. No man made fewer mistakes; no man had fewer advantages unimproved; before none was it dangerous for an adversary to slumber, or to be on his guard; for he was ever broad awake, and was as adventurous as he was skilful. He was apt to take advantage of any the least error of his adversary; he was cautious to leave none in his own

to all these qualities he joined that fire, that that courage, which gave vigour and direction to the whole, and bore down all resistance. In, with all his address and prudence, ever resorted upon more bold figures, and they were only successful ; for his imagination was vigorous enough to sustain any flight ; his taste was correct and even severe, and his execution felicitous to the highest degree. Without much familiarity with even the Latin classics ; with hardly access to the beauties of the Attic eloquence, whether in prose or verse ; with no skill in modern languages ; his acquaintance with the English tongue so perfect, and his taste so exquisite, that he could exceed the beauty of his diction, on every subject he attempted ; whether discoursing on the most humble topics, of the most ordinary conduct in court or in society, or defending men for their lives, under the persecution of tyrannical laws, or wrestling against the usurpations of Parliament in favour of the liberty of the press, and struggling against the assaults of the infidel theists on the foundations of revealed religion. Indeed the beauty, as well as the chaste simplicity, of the language in which he clothed the most lowly subjects reminded the classical scholar of some narratives in the Iliad, where there is not one idea that rises above the meanest level, and yet all is made graceful and elegant by the magic of the diction. Aware

that his classical acquirements were so slender men oftentimes marvelled at the phenomenon of his eloquence, above all, of his composition. The solution of the difficulty lay in the constant reading of the old English authors to which he devoted himself: Shakspeare he was more familiar with than almost any man of his age; and Milton nearly had by heart. Nor can it be denied that the study of the speeches in 'Paradise Lost' as good a substitute as can be found for the immortal originals in the Greek models, upon which those great productions have manifestly been formed.

Such was his oratory; but oratory is only half, and the lesser half, of the *Nisi Prius* advocate; and Mr. Erskine never was known to fail in the more important moiety of the part he had to sustain. The entire devotion to his cause which made him reject everything that did not help forward, and indignantly scorn all temptation to sacrifice its smallest point for any rhetorical triumph, was not the only virtue of his advocate. His judgment was quick, sound, and sure, upon each successive step to be taken; his decision bold, but cautious and enlightened, at each turn. His speaking was hardly more perfect than his examination of witnesses, the art in which so much of an English advocate's skill is shown; and his examination-in-chief was as excellent as his cross-examination.

amination; a department so apt to deceive the vulgar, and which yet is, generally speaking, far as available, as it hardly ever is more difficult, than the examination-in-chief, or in reply. In all these various functions, whether of addressing the jury, or urging objections to the court, or examining his own witnesses, or cross-examining his adversary's, this consummate advocate appeared to be at one and the same time different characters; to act as the counsel and representative of the party, and yet to be the very party himself; while he addressed the tribunal, to be also acquainted with every feeling and thought of the judge or the jury; and while he interrogated the witness, to be able to draw from him all he knew, and in the most favourable shape, or to shake and displace all he had said that was adverse, he appeared to have entered into the mind of the person he was dealing with, and to be familiar with all that was passing within it. It is by such means that the hearer is

being moved, and the truth ascertained; and he will ever be the most successful advocate who can approach the nearest to this lofty and difficult position.

The speeches of this great man are preserved to us with a care and correctness which those only of Mr. Burke, Mr. Windham, Mr. Canning, and Lord Brougham, among all the orators of whom this work treats, can boast. He had a great facility of com-

position; he wrote both much and correctly. Five volumes which remain were all revised himself; most of them at the several times of the first publication. Mr. Windham, too, is known to have left most of his speeches written out correct in his own hand. The same care was bestowed upon their speeches by the others just named. Neither those of Mr. Fox, or Mr. Pitt, nor, with one or two exceptions, of Mr. Sheridan, ever enjoyed the same advantages; and a most unflattering estimate would therefore be formed of their eloquence, as compared with that of others, were it only to build their judgment upon the records which the Parliamentary Debates present.

Of Mr. Erskine's, the first, beyond all doubt, was his speech for Stockdale, foolishly and oppressively prosecuted by the House of Commons, publishing the Reverend Mr. Logan's eloquent tract upon Hastings's impeachment. There are no finer things in modern, and few finer in ancient eloquence than the celebrated passage of the *Indictment* Chief; nor has beautiful language ever been clothed with more curious felicity to raise a striking and appropriate image before the mind, than in the simile of the winds "lashing before them the elements, which without the tempest would stagnate into pestilence." The speeches on Constructive Treason are also noble performances; in which the reader never can forget the sublimity of

iation against those who took from the
 he sentence against Sidney, which should
 een left on record to all ages, that it might
 id blacken in the sight, like the handwriting
 wall before the Eastern tyrant, to deter
 itrages upon justice." One or two of the
 s upon Seduction, especially that for the
 nt in *Howard v. Bingham*, are of exquisite

mains that we commemorate the deeds which
 and which cast the fame of his oratory into
 de. He was an undaunted man ; he was an
 ted advocate. To no Court did he ever
 , neither to the Court of the King, neither
 Court of the King's Judges. Their smiles
 eir frowns he disregarded alike in the fear-
 charge of his duty. He upheld the liberty
 press against the one ; he defended the rights
 people against both combined to destroy
 If there be yet amongst us the power of
 discussing the acts of our rulers ; if there be
 privilege of meeting for the promotion of
 reforms ; if he who desires wholesome
 s in our Constitution be still recognised as
 ot, and not doomed to die the death of a
 ; let us acknowledge with gratitude, that
 great man, under Heaven, we owe this
 of the times. In 1794, his dauntless
 , his indomitable courage, kindling his clo-

quence, inspiring his conduct, giving directly lending firmness to his matchless skill, resist combination of statesmen, and princes, and li—the league of cruelty and craft, formed to c our liberties—and triumphantly scattered winds the half-accomplished scheme of an u ing proscription. Before such a precious as this, well may the lustre of statesmen orators grow pale; and yet this was the ac ment of one only not the first orator of hi and not among its foremost statesmen, beca was beyond all comparison the most accomp advocate, and the most eloquent, that modern have produced.

The disposition and manners of the man hardly less attractive than his genius and his professional skill were admirable. He was, like all great men, simple, natural, and amiable of humane feelings and kindly affections. he had little or none in conversation; and too gay to take any delight in discussion; his humour was playful to buoyancy, and wild and extravagance; and he indulged his roaming devious and abrupt imagination as much in as in public he kept it under rigorous control. That his private character was exempt from blemishes can in no wise be affirmed. The reserve which was charged upon his conversation, which he only seemed to adopt the habit

leaders of his times, was wholly unmixed with anything offensive to others; though it might cost him a mile at his own expense. Far from seeking to depress himself by their depression, his vanity was of the best-natured and least selfish kind; it was only social and tolerant, and, as it were, infectious; nay, he always seemed to extol the virtues of others with fully more enthusiasm than he displayed in recounting his own. But there were other places to be marked, in the extreme licence with which some indulgences were pursued, and unfortunate connexions, even late in life. Lord Kenyon, who admired and followed him fervently, and used always to appear as before him as a schoolmaster of his favourite, though himself rigorous to the point of severity, was wont to call these imperfections, when he viewed them tolerantly, "spots in the sun;" and with sorrow he added, that as the lustre of his glory became more dim, the spots did not diminish in their dimensions. The usual course on such occasions is to say, *Taceamus de his*,—but she neither asserts her greatest privilege, nor neglects her higher duties, when, dazzled by genius, or astonished by splendid triumphs, softened by amiable qualities, she abstains from pointing out those defects which so often degrade sterling worth, and which the talents and virtues that they accompany may sometimes tempt men to imitate.

The striking and imposing appearance of the great man's person has been mentioned. His Herculean strength of constitution may also be noted. During the eight-and-twenty years that he practised at the bar, he never was prevented for an hour from attending to his professional duties. At the famous State Trials in 1794, he lost his vision the evening before he was to address the Jury. It returned to him just in time, and this, like other felicities of his career, he always ascribed to special providence, with the habitually religious disposition of mind which was hereditary in the godly families that he sprung from.

MR. PERCEVAL.

son of great eminence, who, like Mr. Erskine, rose from the Bar, where, however, he never distinguished himself much, was Mr. Perceval, a man of very quick parts, much energy of character, great courage, joined to patient industry, practical acumen as a speaker, great skill and readiness of debate; but of no information beyond what a liberal education gives the common run of the day. Of views upon all things the narrowest; narrow, upon religious and even political questions the most bigoted and intolerant, his range of mental vision was confined in proportion to his ignorance on all general subjects. Within his little sphere he saw with extreme acuteness,—as the mole is supposed to be more sharp-sighted than the eagle for half a quarter of an inch before him,—as beyond the limits of his little horizon he saw no better than the mole, so, like her, he was not to be believed, and always acted on the belief, that beyond what he could descry nothing what he could not descry; and he mistrusted, dreaded, and even hated all who had an ampler visual range than

cour, he possessed many qualities, both of
and the heart, which strongly recommen-
to the confidence of the English people.
scared them by refinements, nor alarmed t
by any sympathy with improvements ou
old and beaten track ; and he shared larg
their favourite national prejudices. A
adherent of the Crown, and a pious se
Church, he was dear to all who celebr
revels by libations to Church and King-
whom regard the clergy as of far more in
than the gospel—all of whom are well co
posed to set the monarch above the law.
this, the accidental qualification of high b
family excessively attached to the Court
Establishment, and still more the real vlrte
adorned his character ; a domestic life
stain, an exemplary discharge of the de
devolve on the father of a numerous t
punctual performance of all his obligation
per which, though quick and even irrit
generally good, a disposition charitable
where the rancour of party or sect left h
free scope. From all sordid feelings he
tirely exempt—regardless of pecuniary in

reless of mere fortune—aiming at power alone and only suffering his ambition to be restrained by its intermixture with his fiery zeal for the success of his cherished principles, religious and civil. The whole character thus formed, whether intellectual or moral, was eminently fitted to command respect and win the favour of a nation whose prejudices are numerous and deep-rooted, and whose regard for the decencies of private life readily accepts a strict observance of them as a substitute for almost any political defect, and a compensation for many political crimes.

The eloquence of Mr. Perceval, any more than his capacity, was not of the highest order; although, like his capacity, it was always strenuously exerted, and sometimes extremely powerful. He was a person of acute and quick rather than of great culties. At the bar his success was assured, if he had not deviated into politics; giving a rival that mistress which is jealous to excess of the least infidelity in her suitor. The nimbleness of mind and industry of application which then distinguished him he brought into the House of Commons; and differing from other lawyers, he was always so lively as to be heard without any effort, in a place far enough from being enamoured with the gown. As Attorney-General to Mr. Addington, and bearing almost the whole burthen of the unequal debate, while the forces of Fox, Pitt, and

and his spirit ever dauntless, nay, rather rising in the emergency—gained him the greatest repute as a ready and a powerful debater. When he took the profession in 1807, and taking the leave of the House of Commons, he appeared as the minister in all but name, and afterwards, on the death of Portland, had the title with the office of Premier, his success was inferior; and he was not for some time able to act up to the reputation he had gained in the subordinate and professional station.

But the debates upon the Regency in 1811, when he fought, almost single-handed, against the royal prerogative against constitutional principle, with the prospect of the Regent being his opponent, as his original connexion with the late King and Caroline had made him his implacable enemy, these contests drew forth all his abilities.

d zealous champion the minister had

His manner of speaking, familiar
ck, lively, smart, yet plain upon the
offending no one by figures or by tropes,
ingly popular in the House of Com-
; the dullest have no dislike to an acute
eader, so he be not over brilliant and
was a man of business too in all his
of living and of speaking; opening a
of finance or regulation, with as great
would reply to a personal attack : above
lantry in debate well fitted him for a
hoever might quail before a powerful
or faint under the pressure of a bad
ake fright in a storm of popular con-
even indignation, he was none of these ;
ouder raged the tempest, so much the
; the voice that called his forces toge-
nited them for the work of the day,
face the enemy or to weather the gale.
309, when the firmness of the Royal
the Ministry was sorely tried, but above
a pattern of morality, a strict observer
es, a somewhat intolerant exactor of
ers, of him who, beyond all men, must
it hard to face the moral or religious
of the whole country, roused by the
for a moment torn rudely aside which
covered over the tender immoralities

of Royal life—even then the person most likely to be struck down by the blast was the first to face it, and to struggle on manfully through the whirl of that difficult crisis, as if he had never spoken the Church, and the moral law, and wives and children, and domestic ties, and the profligacy of courts,—as if the people, of all sects and all classes were looking on, the calm spectators of an ordinary debate. The public voice rendered him on this occasion the justice ever done to men who show in performing their duty that they have the courage to disregard clamour, and to rely on their reputation as a shield against misconstruction. No stain rested upon his character from his gallant defence of the Duke of York; and those who were successful in attacking the fair fame of the Prince, failed in all their attempts to blacken his official defender. In the next Session, he presented Parliament with a Ministry crippled by the loss of both Mr. Canning's eloquence, and Lord Castlereagh's manly courage, and long experience in affairs,—met it too, after such a signal calamity never before had attended any failure of the Government in its military operations. But he again presented the same undaunted front to all perils, and having happily obtained the co-operation of Lord Wellesley, and continuing to enjoy the benefit of his illustrious brother's victories, he again triumphed over all opposition, until the Pr

desertion of his friends seemed to give party a lease of their places during his

minent person's career was cut short while midst of the most difficult struggle of all in was fated to engage. The influence of and Mr. Stephen over his mind was un-

Agreeing on all political questions, and the strength of their religious feelings, although the one leant towards the High Church and the other was a Low Churchman, upon questions connected with neutral rights, he in all manner deferred to the opinion of him whose professional life had been chiefly passed in discussion of them. Accordingly the measures ordered in Council devised by him was readily adopted by the minister, who, never giving either support or his opposition by halves, always threw himself into any cause which he espoused with much zeal as if it were his own. Add to his hearty and deep-rooted hatred of Napoleon who was regarded with the true feelings of the times he accurately represented their national sentiments—the scorn of the Americans, whom he viewed with the animosity peculiar to all the court of George III.—his truly English feeling in obtaining through the war a monopoly of the West India trade, and bringing into London and Bristol the produce of the world—all these desires were

gratified, and these feelings indulged, by a system which, under the mask of retaliation upon France, professed to extinguish, or to absorb into our own commerce, the trade of all the neutrals whom France had oppressed in order to injure us; and Mr. Perceval thus became as strenuous a champion of this unjust and preposterous plan as its author himself. In 1808 he had prevailed with Parliament to give it a full trial; and in four years, instead of collecting all the trade of the world into England, it had effectually ruined whatever Napoleon's measures had left of our own.

Accordingly, a motion was carried at the end of April, 1812, for examining the question in a committee of the whole house, and in taking the evidence which was adduced to show the ruinous effects of the system, he with Mr. Stephen bore night after night the principal part. As they both hoped that the clamour out of doors would subside if time were given, the struggle always was to put off the inquiry, and thus to protract the decision; and Messrs. Brougham and Baring, who conducted it, with some difficulty prevailed so far as to begin the examination of the witnesses exactly at half-past four o'clock. On the 11th of May, Mr. Perceval had been later than the appointed time, and after complaining of this delay, Mr. Brougham, at a quarter before five, had called his first witness, and was examining him, when a messenger deputed

ing the minister met him walking towards
house with Mr. Stephen arm-in-arm. He
tly, with his accustomed activity, darted for-
to obey the summons, but for which Mr.
en, who happened to be on his left side,
I have been the victim of the assassin's blow,
I prostrated Mr. Perceval as he entered the
. The wretched man, by name Bellingham,
no kind of quarrel with him ; but complained
uit at St. Petersburg having been neglected
ir ambassador there, Lord Granville, whom
ended to have destroyed had not Mr. Perceval

first in his way. He never attempted to
; but was taken, committed, tried, con-
ed, executed, dissected, all within one week
the time that he fired the shot. So great an
ge upon justice never was witnessed in modern
; for the application to delay the trial, until
nce of his insanity could be brought from
pool, was refused, and the trial proceeded,
both the court, the witnesses, the jury, and
ople, were under the influence of the feelings
ally excited by the deplorable slaughter of
f the most eminent and virtuous men in any
of the community.

has been said already that Mr. Perceval was
mperfectly educated and very narrow minded.
as the slave of violent prejudices, and had
made any effort to shake them off, or to

mitigate them by instructing himself in any of the branches of learning out of his own profession, so only that he had the ordinary portion of classical learning which all English gentlemen acquire in their early youth. How amiable soever in private life, he was intolerant of others who differed with him in the proportion of his ignorance, and committed the error of all such conscientious and bigoted men, the forgetting that those of opposite sentiments have exactly the same excuse for a yielding obstinacy that they have for rooted dislike towards adverse doctrines. They feel all the heat of intolerance, but make no kind of allowance for others feeling somewhat of the fire which burns fiercely within themselves.

LORD GRENVILLE.

In two eminent persons speaking, were Mr. Pitt and his political adherents, though of a different opinion. Lord Grenville was of a different opinion. He followed his fortune during the eventful period of the alleged opposition and the first French war, left office with him in 1801, nor quitted him until he consented to resume it in 1804, preferring place to character, and leaving the Whigs, by whose help he had overthrown the Addington Administration. From that moment Lord Grenville joined the Tory party, with whom to the end of his public life he continued to act.

A greater accession to the popular cause and to the Whig party it was impossible to imagine, unless Mr. Pitt himself had persevered in his desire of joining the standard under which his first and noblest battles were fought. All the qualities in which their long opposition and personal habits made them deficient, Lord Grenville possessed in an eminent degree; long habits of business had

matured his experience and disciplined his rally vigorous understanding; a life studiously regular had surrounded him with the respect of his countrymen, and of those whom the dazzling popularity of others could not blind to their loose principles or idle habits; a firm attachment to the Church as by law established attracted to him the confidence of those who subscribed to its doctrines and approve its discipline; while his tried prudence and discretion were a balance wanted against the opposite defects of the party, and especially of their most celebrated leader.

After Mr. Grattan, it would be difficult to find out any person to whom the great and fundamental question of Irish Policy, and the cause of religious liberty in general, was so much indebted as to Lord Grenville;* while, in the sacrifices which

* The plan of this work of course precludes all reference, at least all detailed reference, to the conduct and character of living statesmen. But for this an ample field was opened, in which to expatiate upon the transcendent services of Lord Grey, and the ample sacrifices which he made during the greater part of his political life, to the rights and the interests of the Irish people. Lord Wellesley's services in the same cause, it is also, for the same reason, impossible to enter upon, further than to remind the reader that he having almost begun life as the advocate of the claims, he, and after him Lord Anglesey, first example to succeeding Viceroy of ruling Ireland with the most perfect justice to all parties, and holding the

de to it, he certainly much exceeded Mr. Grattan himself. He was enabled to render this valuable service to his country, not more by his natural abilities, which were of a very high order—sound judgment, extraordinary memory, an almost pre-natural power of application—and by the riches of knowledge which those eminent qualities had put him in possession of, than by the accidental circumstances in his previous history and present position—his long experience in office, which had tried and matured his talents in times of unexampled difficulty—his connexion with Mr. Pitt, both in the kindred of blood and of place, so well fitted to conciliate the Tory party, or at all events to disarm their hostility, and lull their suspicions—above all, the well-known and steady attachment of himself and his family to the principles and the establishment of the Church of England.

When, therefore, he quitted power with Mr. Pitt in 1801, rather than abandon the Catholic emancipation, the carrying of which had only a year before been held out as one of the principal objects of the Union; and when, in 1804, he remptorily refused to join Mr. Pitt in resuming office, unless a ministry should be formed upon a

favour even, with a steady hand, between Catholic and Protestant, Churchman and Dissenter.

basis wide enough to comprehend the Whig
 the cause of liberal, tolerant principles, but
 all, the Irish question, gained an able son
 whose alliance, whether his intrinsic or ac-
 qualities were considered, might justly be e-
 beyond all price. The friends of civil a-
 gious liberty duly valued this most impor-
 cession; and the distinguished statesman
 they now accounted as one of their most p-
 champions, and trusted as one of their most
 leaders, amply repaid the confidence rep-
 him, by the steady and disinterested d-
 which, with his characteristic integrity an-
 ness, he gave to the cause. Taking off
 Mr. Fox, and placed at the head of the
 ment, upon the death of that great man he
 torily, and with bare courtesy, rejected
 overtures of the King to separate from the
 and rejoin his ancient allies of the Pitt
 Soon afterwards, in firm union with the
 of the Fox party, he carried the Abolition
 Slave Trade, and retired from power, rath-
 bind himself not to press the Catholic I-
 pation upon the narrow-minded though ex-
 tious Prince whom he served. Continuing
 alliance with the Whigs, he shared with th-
 frowns of the Court and the habitual ex-
 from office which has, for the most part, be-
 portion in public life. Nor can it be doub-

stance with which he abided by his
 opinions in favour of the Catholic Ques-
 prevented him from presiding over the
 his country, during, at the least, twenty
 life. They who have come to the aid
 al cause only when its success made an
 it the road to Court favour, with all
 niments of profit and of power, have a
 nt account of mutual obligation to settle
 country, from that which Lord Gren-
 at any time since his retirement have
 but disdained ever even to hint at.
 who, after his powerful advocacy, his
 integrity, his heavy sacrifices, had all
 the Irish question, have come forward
 ie good work, and have reaped every
 tification from doing their duty, instead
 a sacrifice of their interests like him,
 well, while they usurp all the glory of
 uses, to recollect the men whose labours,
 ith proscription, led the way to com-
 insignificant exertions, still more bene-
 he individuals that made them, than
 us to the cause they served.

lowments of this eminent statesman's
 all of a useful and commanding sort—
 y, steady memory, vast industry. His
 its were in the same proportion val le
 s—a thorough acquaintance with b

pondus in verbis! Quam nihil non consideratum
exibat ex ore! Sileamus de isto, ne augeamus
dolorem. Nam et præteritorum recordatio est
acerba, et acerbior expectatio reliquorum."*

* Cicero, Brutus, 266.

MR. GRATTAN.

a name which we mentioned as superior to even Lord Grenville in services to the Irish question, calls to mind one of the greatest men of his age—Henry Grattan.

It would not be easy to point out any statesman or patriot, in any age of the world, whose fame stands higher for his public services; nor is it possible to name any one, the purity of whose reputation has been stained by so few faults, and the lustre of whose renown is dimmed by so few imperfections. From the earliest year at which he could appear upon the political stage, he devoted himself to state affairs. While yet in the prime of youth, he had achieved a victory which stands at the head of all the triumphs ever won by a patriot for his country in modern times; he had effected an important revolution in the Government, without violence of any kind, and had broken chains of the most degrading kind, by which the justice and usurpation of three centuries had bound her down. Her immediate gratitude placed her in a situation of independence, which enabled

him to consecrate the remainder of his days to service, without the interruption arising from professional pursuits ; and he continued to persevere the same course of patriotism marked by a union of the moderation which springs from combined wisdom and virtue, with the firmness and the zeal which are peculiar to genius. No factious partisan, making devotion to the public cause convenient and a safe mask for the attainment of his selfish interests, whether of sordid avarice or crawling ambition, ever found in Grattan either an instrument or an accomplice. No true friend of the people, inspired with a generous desire of extirpating abuses, and of extending the rights of freedom, ever complained of Grattan's slowness to join the untarnished banner of patriotism. His advocate of human improvement, filled with the sacred zeal of enlarging the enjoyments or elevating the condition of mankind, was ever damped in his aspirations by Grattan's coldness, or had reason to wish him less the advocate of Ireland and more the friend of his species.

The principal battle which he fought for his native country required him to embrace every great and difficult question of domestic policy : the misrule and oppression exercised by England over the Irish people extended to all their commercial dealings, as well as to their political rights, and sought to fetter their trade by a complica-

of vexatious regulations, as well as to awe isolators by an assumption of sovereignty, impose the fetters of a foreign jurisdiction on the administration of justice itself. In no other of this vast and various field were Mr. Grattan's efforts found to fail, or his acquirements to be insufficient; and he handled the details of fiscal and mercantile policy with as much accuracy and great address as he brought to the discussion of the broader and easier though more momentous subject—the great question of National Independence. He was left, on the achievement of his great triumph, in possession of as brilliant a reputation as man could desire; and it was unnecessary for any one to act either of factious violence, personal meanness, or of the inconsistency which overmuch vehemence in the pursuit of worthy objects is wont to betray even the most virtuous men. The popular favour which he had attained to so unexampled a degree, and in such rapid profusion, was in a short time destined to meet an interruption, not unusual in the history of popular leaders; and for refusing to join in the formation of a more than doubtful origin, of men of doubtful reputation of every kind, and of a more doubtful honesty—men who proscribed as unworthy of the people's esteem all that acknowledged any restraints of moderation—he lived to be self-denounced by the factious, reviled by

the unprincipled, and abandoned by their dupes, the bulk of the very nation whose idol he had so lately been.

The war with France, and the fear of revolutionary movements at home, rendered him for some years an alarmist; and he joined with those who supported the hostilities into which Mr. Pitt and the Portland seceders from the Whig party unhappily plunged the empire. But he carried his support of arbitrary measures at home a very short way, compared with the new allies of the Government in England; and the proceedings of the Irish Ministry, during and after the Rebellion, found in him an adversary as uncompromising as in the days of his most strenuous patriotism, and most dazzling popularity. Despairing of success by any efforts of the party in Parliament, he joined in the measure of secession adopted by the English Whigs, but after a manner far more reconcilable to a sense of public duty, as well as far more effective in itself, than the absurd and inconsistent course which they pursued, of retaining the office of representatives, while they refused to perform any of its duties, except the enjoyment of its personal privileges. Mr. Grattan and the leaders of the Irish opposition vacated their seats at once, and left their constituents to choose other delegates. When the Union was propounded, they again returned to their posts, and offered a resist-

ion to that measure, which at first proved successful, and deferred for a year the accomplishment of a measure planned in true wisdom, though executed by most corrupt and corrupting means—a measure as necessary for the well-being of Ireland as for the security of the empire at large. He entered the Imperial parliament in 1805, and continued, with the exception of the question upon the renewal of the war in 1815, a constant and most powerful coadjutor of the Whig party, retaining office when they came into power upon Mr. Pitt's death, but lending them a strenuous support upon all great questions, whether of English policy or of Irish, and showing himself most conspicuously above the mean and narrow spirit that could confine a statesman's exertions to the questions which interest one portion of the empire, or with which his own fame in former times may have been more peculiarly entwined.

Among the orators, as among the statesmen of his age, Mr. Grattan occupies a place in the foremost rank; and it was the age of the Pitts, the Foxes, and the Sheridans. His eloquence was of very high order, all but of the very highest, and it was eminently original. In the constant stream of a diction replete with epigram and point, a stream on which floated gracefully, because naturally, flowers of various hues,—was poured forth the closest reasoning, the most luminous statement,

the most persuasive display of all the motives that could influence, and of all the details that could enlighten, his audience. Often a different strain was heard, and it was declamatory and vehement; or pity was to be moved, and its pathos was touching as it was simple—or, above all, an adversary sunk in baseness, or covered with crimes, was to be punished or to be destroyed, and a storm of the most terrible invective raged, with all the blight of sarcasm, and the thunders of abuse. The critic, away for the moment, and unable to do more than feel with the audience, could in those cases, even when he came to reflect and to judge, find nothing to reprehend; seldom in any case more than the excess of epigram, which had yet become so natural to the orator, that his argument and narrative, and even his sagacious unfolding of principles, seemed spontaneously to clothe themselves in the most pointed terseness, and most apt and felicitous antitheses. From the faults of his country's eloquence he was, generally speaking, free. Occasionally an over-fondness for vehement expression, an exaggeration of passion, or an offensive appeal to Heaven, might be noted; very rarely a loaded use of figures, and, more rarely still, figures broken and mixed. But the perpetual striving after far-fetched quaintness; the disdain to say any one thing in an easy and natural style; the contempt of that rule, as true in rhetoric as

that it is wise to do common things in the way; the affectation of excessive feeling things, without regard to their relative value; the making any occasion, even the smallest, to rouse genuine and natural feeling, a great opportunity of theatrical display—all these things which so many oratorical reputations have been blighted among a people famous for almost universal oratorical genius, were in vain when Mr. Grattan rose, whether in the name of his native country, or in that to which he was transferred by the Union. And if we consider the peculiarity of outward appearance, as in the case of an awkward person, in which he resembled some of the great orators, and even of manner, in which he was like him, made the defects of nature seem a severe culture; so had he one excellence of the very highest order, in which he may be said to have left all the orators of modern times behind—the severe abstinence which rests with striking the decisive blow in a word without weakening its effect by repetition and redundancy,—and another excellence higher still, in which no orator of any age is his equal, the easy and free flow of most profound, sagacious, and sound principles, enunciated in terse and striking, appropriate language. To give a sample of this peculiarity would be less easy, and would require more space; but of the former it may be

truly said that Dante himself never conjured a more striking, a pathetic, and an appropriate image in fewer words than Mr. Grattan employed to describe his relation towards Irish independence, when, alluding to its rise in 1782, and its fall twenty years later, he said, "I sat by its cradle—I followed its hearse."

In private life he was without a stain, whether of temper or of principle; singularly amiable as well as of unblemished purity, in all the relations of family and of society; of manners as full of generosity as they were free from affectation; of conversation as much seasoned with spirit and as impregnated with knowledge as it was void of asperity and gall. Whoever heard him in private society, and marked the calm tone of his judicious counsel, the profound wisdom of his sagacious observations, the unceasing felicity of his expressions, the constant variety and brilliancy of his illustrations, could well suppose that he had conversed with the orator whose wit and whose wisdom enlightened and guided the senate of his country; but in the playful hilarity of the companion, his unbroken serenity, his unruffled good nature, would indeed have been a difficult thing to recognise the giant of debate, whose awful energies had been hurled, nor yet exhausted, upon the Cause of the Duigenans, and the Floods.*

* It is always a matter of difficulty to draw the character

signal failure of the latter, when translated to the English Parliament, suggests a parallel to the same passage in the life of Mr. Grattan. Men were variously inclined to conjecture on his probable success; and the singularity of his external appearance, and his manner of speaking, as well as his action, so unusual in the English Parliament, made the event doubtful, for some time, during his speech of 1805. Nor were wanting those surrounding Mr. Pitt who declared "that it would not do." That great and experienced judge is said to have for some moments partaken of these doubts, when the execution of some passage, not perhaps anticipated by the audience at large, at once dispelled them, and he pronounced to his neighbours an authoritative and decisive sentence, which the unanymous voice of the House and of the country afterwards affirmed.

Grattan was a man who belongs to another, and, in some particulars, to a very different country. This has been felt in the attempt to give a sketch of Mr. Grattan; and the Editor has read the most lively and picturesque piece of biography that was ever given to the world, Mr. C. Phillips's collection of Curran, will join in the regret here expressed, that the present work did not fall into hands so well qualified to perform it in a masterly manner. The constant exertions consequent upon great professional eminence, has lately withdrawn him from the walks of literature, and he was so remarkably fitted to shine.

This illustrious patriot died a few days after arrival in London, at the beginning of June 1817, having come with the greatest difficulty, and in a dying state, to attend his Parliamentary duties. A request was made to his family, that his remains might be buried in Westminster Abbey, instead of being conveyed for interment to Ireland; and this having been complied with, the obsequies were attended by all the more distinguished members of both Houses of Parliament. The following Letter containing the request was signed by the leaders of the liberal party. The beauty of its character and composition was much and justly admired at the time; but little wonder was excited by it, when the author came to be known. It proceeded from the pen of one of the greatest poets whom the country has produced, as well as one of its finest prose writers; who to this unstable fame adds the more imperishable renown of being also one of the most honourable men, and most uncompromising friends of civil and religious liberty, who have appeared in any age. The rare felicity of our time in possessing two individuals to whom this description might be applied,—Rogers and Campbell—alone makes it necessary to add that the former is here meant.

“ TO THE SONS OF MR. GRATTAN.

“ Filled with veneration for the character of your father, we venture to express a wish, common

to us with many of those who most admired and loved him, that what remains of him should be allowed to continue among us.

“ It has pleased Divine Providence to deprive the empire of his services, while he was here in the neighbourhood of that sacred edifice where great men from all parts of the British dominions have been for ages interred. We are desirous of an opportunity of joining in the due honour to tried virtue and genius. Mr. Grattan belongs to us also, and great would be our consolation were we permitted to follow him to the grave, and to place him where he would not have been unwilling to lie—by the side of his illustrious fellow-labourers in the cause of freedom.”

MR. WILBERFORCE.

CONTEMPORARY with Lord Grenville and Mr. whose intimate friend he was, and whose part for a time, appeared a man, in some respects illustrious than either—one who, among the greatest benefactors of the human race, holds an exalted station—one whose genius was elevated by virtues, and exalted by his piety. It is, unfortunately, hardly necessary to name one whose vices and the follies of the age have already particularized, by making it impossible that what has been said could apply to any but Wilberforce.

Few persons have ever either reached a higher and more enviable place in the esteem of their fellow creatures, or have better deserved the praise they had gained, than William Wilberforce. He was naturally a person of great quickness and subtilty of mind, with a lively imagination, approaching to playfulness of fancy; and hence had wit in an unmeasured abundance, and in its varieties; for he was endowed with an exquisite sense of the ludicrous in character, the foundation of humour, as well as with the perception of

resemblances, the essence of wit. These qualities however he had so far disciplined his faculties as to keep in habitual restraint, lest he should ever offend against strict decorum, by introducing light matter into serious discussion, or be drawn into personal remarks too poignant for feelings of individuals. For his nature was mild and amiable beyond that of most men; fearful of giving the least pain in any quarter, even while armed with the zeal of controversy on questions which roused all his passions; and more anxious, if possible, to gain over rather than to overcome an adversary and disarm him by kindness, by the force of reason, or awakening appeals to his feelings, rather than defeat him by hostile attack. His natural talents were cultivated, and his taste improved by all the resources of a complete Cambridge education, in which, while the classics were assiduously studied, the mathematics were not neglected; and he enjoyed in the society of his intimate friends, Mr. Pitt and Dean Milner, the additional benefit of foreign travel, having passed nearly a year in France, after the dissolution of Lord Melbourne's administration had removed Mr. Pitt from office. Having entered Parliament as member for Hull, where his family were the principal mercantile men of the place, he soon afterwards, at the ill-fated coalition destroying all connection in the Whig party, succeeded Mr. Foljambe

as member for Yorkshire, which he continued to represent as long as his health permitted him, having only retired to a less laborious seat in the year 1812. Although generally attached to the Pitt ministry, he pursued his course wholly unfettered by party connexion, steadily refused office through his whole life, nor would lay himself under any obligations by accepting a share of patronage; and he differed with his illustrious friend upon the two most critical emergencies of his life, the question of peace with France in 1793 and the impeachment of Lord Melville ten years later.

His eloquence was of the highest order. It was persuasive and pathetic in an eminent degree; but it was occasionally bold and impassioned, animated with the inspiration which deep feeling alone can breathe into spoken thought, chastened by a good taste, varied by extensive information, enriched by classical allusion, sometimes elevated by the most sublime topics of Holy Writ—the thoughts and the spirit

“That touch’d Isaiah’s hallow’d lips with fire.”

Few passages can be cited in the oratory of modern times of a more electrical effect than this singularly felicitous and striking allusion to Mr. Pitt’s resisting the torrent of Jacobin principles—“He stood between the living and the de-

and the plague was stayed." The singular kindness, the extreme gentleness of his disposition, wholly free from gall, from vanity, or any selfish feeling, kept him from indulging in any of the vituperative branches of rhetoric; but a memorable instance showed that it was anything rather than the want of power which held him off from the use of the weapons so often in almost all other men's hands. When a well-known popular member thought fit to designate him repeatedly, and very irregularly, as the "*Honourable and religious gentleman*," not because he was ashamed of the Cross he gloried in, but because he felt indignant at any one in the British senate deeming piety a matter of imputation, he poured out a strain of sarcasm which none who heard it can ever forget. A common friend of the parties having remarked to Sir Samuel Romilly, beside whom he sat, that this greatly outmatched Pitt himself, the great master of sarcasm, the reply of that great man and just observer was worthy to be remarked,—“Yes,” said he, “it is the most striking thing I almost ever heard; but I look upon it as a more singular proof of Wilberforce's virtue than of his genius, for who but he ever was possessed of such a formidable weapon, and never used it?”

Against all these accomplishments of a finished orator there was little to set on the other side. A feeble constitution, which made him say, all his

life, that he never was either well or ill; a sweetly musical beyond that of most men, and a great compass also, but sometimes degenerated into a whine; a figure exceedingly undignified and ungraceful, though the features of the face singularly expressive; and a want of condensation in the latter years of his life, especially, lapsing into digression and ill calculated for a very business-like audience like the House of Commons. These may be noted as the only drawbacks which kept him out of the very first place among the first speakers of his age, whom, in pathos, and in graceful and easy and perfectly elegant diction as well as harmonious periods, he unquestionably excelled. The influence which the Member for Yorkshire always commanded in the old Parliament—the great weight which the head, like the founder, of a powerful religious sect, possessed in the country—would have given extraordinary authority in the senate to one of far inferior personal endowments. But when these partly accidental circumstances were added to his power, and when the whole were used and applied with the habits of industry which naturally belonged to one of his extreme temperance in every respect it is difficult to imagine any one bringing a greater force to the aid of any cause which he might espouse.

Wherefore, when he stood forward as the leader

the Abolition, vowed implacable war against
 ry and the Slave Trade, and consecrated his
 to the accomplishment of its destruction, there
 every advantage conferred upon this great
 , and the rather that he held himself aloof
 party connexion. A few personal friends,
 and with him by similarity of religious opinions,
 might be said to form a small party, and they ge-
 nerally acted in concert, especially in all matters
 relating to the Slave question. Of these, Henry
 Clifton was the most eminent in every respect.
 He was a man of strong understanding, great
 powers of reasoning and of investigation, an accu-
 rate and a curious observer, but who neither had
 polished oratory at all, nor had received a refined
 education, nor had extended his reading beyond
 subjects connected with moral, political, and
 logical learning. The trade of a banker, which
 he followed, engrossed much of his time; and his
 opinions both in Parliament and through the
 press were chiefly confined to the celebrated con-
 troversy upon the currency, in which his well-
 known work led the way, and to a bill for restrict-
 ing the Slave Trade to part of the African coast,
 which he introduced when the Abolitionists were
 worn out with their repeated failures, and had
 almost abandoned all hopes of carrying the
 measure itself. That measure was fated to
 undergo much vexatious delay, nor is there any

great question of justice and policy, the which is less creditable to the British Parliament, indeed, to some of the statesmen of the age, although upon it mainly rests the fame of the age.

When Mr. Wilberforce, following in Clarkson's track, had, with matchless power and eloquence, sustained by a body of the clergy and laity, unveiled all the horrors of a traffic which had it been attended with neither fraud nor violence, of any kind, was, confessedly, from beginning to end, not a commerce but a crime, he was opposed by large majorities, year after year. At length, for the first time, in 1804, he carried the Abolition Bill through the Commons, but the House immediately threw it out; and the next year it was again lost in the Commons. All this happened while the opinion of the country was in favour of the single exception of persons having no African connections, unanimous in favour of the abolition. At different times there was the strongest and most general expression of public feeling upon the subject, and it was a question upon which no man, not endowed with reason, could possibly differ. In admitting whatever could be alleged in favour of the profits of the traffic, it was not denied that the traffic proceeded from pillage and murder. It was this, that the enormous evil continued to increase in the country and its legislature for two centuries, although the voice of every statesman of the age was against it.

nence, I . . . was strenuously lifted against it,—, upon this only question, Pitt, Fox, & he heartily agreed,—although by far the all Mr. Pitt's speeches were those which I . . . unced against it,—and although every press and every pulpit in the island habitually cried it down. How are we, then, to account for the extreme tenacity of life which the hateful reptile showed?—how to explain the fact that all those powerful hands fell paralysed and would not bring it to death? If little honour rebounds to the Parliament from this passage in our history, and if it is thus plainly shown that the reformed House of Commons but ill represented the country, it must also be confessed that Mr. Pitt's conduct gains as little glory from the retrospect. How could he, who never suffered any of his coadjutors, much less his underlings in office, thwart his will even in trivial matters—he who would have cleared any of the departments of half their occupants, had they presumed to have an opinion of their own upon a single item of any budget, or an article in the year's estimates—how could he, after shaking the walls of the Senate with the thunders of his majestic eloquence, exerted with a zeal which set at defiance all suspicions of entire sincerity, quietly suffer, that the object, most before declared the dearest to his heart, should be ravished from him when within his sight, ,

within his reach, by the votes of the secretaries and under-secretaries, the puisne lords and other fry of mere placemen,—the pawns of board? It is a question often anxiously put by the friends of the Abolition, never satisfactorily answered by those of the Minister; and if an additional comment were wanting on the dark passage of his life, it is supplied by the ease with which he cut off the Slave traffic of the conquered colonies, an importation of thirty thousand years which he had so long suffered to exist, though an order in Council could any day have extinguished it. This he never thought of till 1805, and then, of course, the instant he chose, he destroyed it forever with a stroke of his pen. Again, when the Whigs were in power, they found the total abolition of the traffic so easy, that the measure, in pursuing which Mr. Pitt had for so many long years allowed himself to be baffled, was carried by them with only sixteen dissentient voices in a house of 250 members. There can then, unhappily, be but one answer to the question regarding Mr. Pitt's conduct on this great measure. He was, no doubt, quite sincere, but he was not so zealous as to risk anything, to sacrifice anything, or even to incur himself any extraordinary trouble for the accomplishment of his purpose. The Court decidedly against abolition; George III. regarded the question with abhorrence, as

of innovation,—and innovation in a part of
the empire connected with his earliest and most
rooted prejudices,—the Colonies. The courtiers
look, as is their wont, the colour of their senti-
ments from him. The Peers were of the same
union. Mr. Pitt had not the enthusiasm for
right and justice, to risk in their behalf losing the
friendship of the mammon of unrighteousness; and
left to his rivals, when they became his suc-
cessors, the glory of that triumph in the sacred
cause of humanity, which should have illustrated
his name, who in its defence had raised all the
powers of his eloquence to their very highest
pitch.

MR. CANNING.

WHEN Mr. Pitt, in 1784, stood against the united powers of the Coalition by the support of the court and the people, in debate he had only Mr. Dundas and occasionally Mr. Wilberforce, to whom he could look for assistance while attacked by Fox, Burke, North, Sheridan, Erskine, Windham. But a younger race afterwards grew up and came to his assistance; and of these Mr. Canning was undoubtedly the first. He was in all respects one of the more remarkable persons who have lived in our times. Born with talents of a high order, these had been cultivated with an assiduity and success which placed him among the accomplished scholars of his day; and he was only inferior to others in the walks of science, from the accident of the studies which Oxford cherished in his time being pointed almost exclusively to classical pursuits. But he was anything rather than a mere scholar. In him were combined lively original fancy—a happily retentive and ready memory—singular powers of lucid statement—and occasionally wit in all its varieties, now biting and sarcastic

may, if not to overwhelm an antagonist—pungent or giving point to an argument—playful for mere amusement, and bringing to a tedious statement, or lending a charm y chains of close reasoning—*Erant ea in ipso quæ, qui sine comparatione illorum ret, satis magna dixerit; summa libertas in ne, multæ facetiæ; satis creber in reprehensio, solutus in explicandis sententiis; erat etiam nis, ut temporibus illis, Græcis doctrinis instituitur in altercando cum aliquo aculeo et maledictis.*—(Cic., *Brutus*.) Superficial observers, seduced by this brilliancy, and by its sometimes over-indulged, committed their accustomed mistake, and supposed that he who could thus adorn his subject was an amusing speaker only, while he was helping on the argument at every step,—often his single skilful statements perform the office of reasoning, and oftener still seeming to be witty when he is merely exposing the weakness of hostile positions, and thus taking them by the artillery of logic. But in truth his powers of ordinary reasoning were of a very high order, and could not be equalled by the practised master of dialectics. He was rather in the deep and full measure of improved declamation in its legitimate combination with rapid argument, the highest reach of oratory, which he failed; and this he rarely attempted. Of his powers of argumentation, his capacity for the dis-

cussions of abstract science, his genius for adorning the least attractive subjects, there remains an imperishable record in his celebrated speeches upon the "Currency," of all his efforts the most brilliant and the most happy.

This eminent person was for the most part the slave of mean or paltry passions, except what flowed from his irritable and impatient temper; but a lofty ambition inspired him; and had he not too early become trained to official habits, he would have avoided the distinguishing and fatal error of his life, an impression which clung to him from the desk, that no one can usefully serve his country, or effectually further his principles unless he possesses the power which place alone bestows. The traces of this belief are to be seen in many of the most remarkable passages of his life; and it even appears in the song with which he celebrated the praise of his illustrious leader and friend; for he treats as a fall Mr. Pitt's sacrificing power to principle, at a time when, by retiring from office, he had earned the applause of millions. Mr. Canning himself gave an example equally signal of abandoning office rather than tarnish his fame; and no act of his life can be cited which sheds a greater lustre on his memory than his retiring from the Government rather than bear a part in the proceedings against the Queen.

In private society he was amiable and attractive



cussions of abstract science, his genius the least attractive subjects, there re-
perishable record in his celebrated s
the "Currency," of all his efforts the
and the most happy.

This eminent person was for the
the slave of mean or paltry passions,
flowed from his irritable and impat
but a lofty ambition inspired him;
not too early become trained to offici
would have avoided the distinguishin
error of his life, an impression whi
him from the desk, that no one can u
his country, or effectually further hi
unless he possesses the power which
bestows. The traces of this belief are
in many of the most remarkable pas
life; and it even appears in the song
he celebrated the praise of his illust
and friend; for he treats as a fall Mr.
ficing power to principle, at a time wh
ing from office, he had earned the
millions. Mr. Canning himself gave
equally signal of abandoning office
tarnish his fame; and no act of his
cited which sheds a greater lustre on
than his retiring from the Government
bear a part in the proceedings against

In private society he was amiable an

though, except for a very few years of his early youth, he rarely frequented the circles of fashion, confining his intercourse to an extremely small number of warmly attached friends.* In all the relations of domestic life he was blameless, and was the delight of his family, as in them he placed his own.† His temper, though naturally irritable and uneasy, had nothing petty or spiteful in it; and as no one better knew how and when to resent, so none could more readily or more gracefully forgive.

It is supposed that, from his early acquaintance with Mr. Sheridan and one or two other Whigs, he originally had a leaning towards that side of the question. But he entered into public life at a very early age, under the auspices of Mr. Pitt, to

* It is necessary to state this undoubted fact, that the folly of those may be rebuked who have chosen to represent him "a great diner-out." It may be safely affirmed that none of those historians of the day ever once saw him at table.

† It is well known how much more attachment was conceived for his memory by his family and his devoted personal friends than by his most staunch political adherents. The friendships of statesmen are proverbially of rotten texture; but it is doubtful if ever this rottenness was displayed in a more disgusting manner than when the puny man of whose nostrils he had been the breath, joined his erst enemies as soon as they had laid him in the grave. It was said by one hardly ever related to him but in open hostility, that "the gallantry of his kindred had rescued his memory from the offices of his friends,"—in allusion to Lord Clanricarde's most powerful and touching appeal at that disgraceful occasion.

of the difference between Reforms, of which he admitted the necessity, and Revolution, against all risk of which he anxiously guarded. He had early joined Mr. Pitt on the Catholic question, and, while yet the war raged, he had rendered incalculable service to the cause of Emancipation, by devoting to it some of his most brilliant efforts in the House of Commons. This, and the accident of a contested election in a great town bringing him more in contact with popular feelings and opinions, contributed to the liberal course of policy which he afterwards pursued on almost all subjects. Upon one only question he continued firm and unbending; he was the most uncompromising adversary of all Parliamentary Reform,—resisting even the least change in the representative system, and holding that alteration once begun was fatal to its integrity.* This opposition to reform became the main characteristic of the Canning party, and it regulated their conduct on almost all questions. Before 1831, no exception can be perceived in their hostility to reform, unless their differing with the

* During the short period of his brilliant administration the question of disfranchising a burgh, convicted of gross corruption, gave rise to the only difference between him and Mr. Brougham, who was understood to have mainly contributed towards that junction of the Whigs and liberal Tories which dissolved and scattered the old and high Tory party, and a division took place in which Mr. Canning was defeated.

of Wellington on East Retford can be real as such ; but, in truth, their avowed reason supporting that most insignificant measure was, the danger of a real and effectual reform might be warded off. The friends of Mr. Canning, in 1818, had been joined by Lord Melbourne,* and steady to the same principles, until happened the formation of Lord Grey's government, entirely changed their course, and became the allies, with their reforming colleagues, of a measure, compared to which the greatest reforms contemplated by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, or effected by Mr. Burke and Mr. Canning, hardly were to be classed among measures of innovation. We can pronounce with perfect confidence on conduct which any statesman would have purchased had he survived the times in which he flourished. But if such an opinion may ever with propriety be formed, it seems to be in the present case ; it would require far more boldness to surmise that Mr. Canning, or even Mr. Huskisson, would have continued in the government after the 1st of January, 1831, than to affirm that nothing could

Lord Melbourne differed with the rest of the Canning administration on this point. He always opposed Reform, but held that if any was to be granted, it must be in an ample measure, and he did not vote with them, but with the government on the Retford question, although he resigned with them upon that occasion.

ever have induced such an alteration in their fixed opinions upon so momentous a question.

But while such was the strength of his opinion—prejudices as they seem,—on one great subject on almost all other matters, whether of foreign domestic policy, his views were liberal, and sub to the spirit of the age, while he was a firm supporter of the established constitution of the country. If ever man was made for the service and the salvation of a party, Mr. Canning seemed to have been raised up for that of the Tories: if ever party committed a fatal error, it was their suffer groundless distrust and unintelligible dislikes to estrange him from their side. At a time when nothing but his powerful arm could recall unity to their camp, and save them from impending destruction, they not merely wilfully kindled the wrath of Achilles, but resolved that he should no longer fight on their side, and determined to throw away the last chance of winning the battle. To him they gave general assent preferred Lord Castlereagh as the leader, without a single shining quality except carriage and the manners of high birth: while Mr. Canning, but for his accidental death, would have ended his life as governor of a country where he neither debate, nor write; where eloquence counts for rates in scores of paragraphs, and the sparkling wit and the cadence of rhyme are alike unknown.

The defects of Mr. Canning's character or

though not trifling, were not many, nor difficult to discover. His irritable temper was noted: he had a love of trifling and a taste for indulging in pleasantry, more in accordance to his estimation with ordinary men than with an infirm temper. Nothing could be more

than that one who so much excelled in these lighter, more brilliant, but hardly solid qualities, should be prone to exercise them too much; but they greatly marred the effect of his more solid and important talents. Above all, they enlarged the circle of his enemies, and finally transferred to it the friends whom they had. With the common run of ordinary mortals who compose the mass of every country—with the vulgar sort of men who form the bulk of every assembly, and who especially bear sway in their own place, the assembly that represents the people,—it would have been contrary to nature if one so lively, so fond of his joke, so careless of his merriment might offend, so ready to join the general laugh against any victim,—had he popular, nay, had failed to prove the object of derision, and even dislike. The duller portion of those heads his lighter missiles flew, were directed with one who spoke so lightly; it was not personal to them if he jested, and a classical jest was next thing to an affront. “He will be trifling at the quorum or talking metaphysics

next," said the squire, representing a co- even they who emulated him and favoured did not much like the man who had m merry, for they felt what it was that th at, and it might be their own turn to-m

That his oratory suffered very material self-indulgent habit, so hard to resist l possesses the faculty of amusing his au can scarcely pause at the moment that ing it successfully, it would be incorrec The graver parts of his discourse wer sustained; they were unmixed with riba were quite as powerful in themselves as not stood out from the inferior matter a soared above it. There is no doubt, ho with an unreflecting audience, their effec what confused by the cross lights whic occasionally bordering upon drollery, the canvass. But his declamation, th powerful, always beautifully ornate, i cient in admirable diction, was certainly highest class. It wanted depth: it can mouth, not from the heart; and it tickl filled the ear rather than penetrated of the listener. The orator never seeme himself and be absorbed in his theme; l carried away by his passions, and he c his audience along with him. An acto fore us, a first-rate one no doubt, but stil

l we never forgot that it was a representation we re witnessing, not a real scene. The Grecian ist was of the second class only, at whose fruit the ds pecked : while, on seeing Parrhasius' picture, a cried out to have the curtain drawn aside. Mr. nning's declamation entertained his hearers, so istly was it executed ; but only an inexperienced ic could mistake it for the highest reach of the torical art. The truly great orator is he who ries away his hearer, or fixes his whole attention the subject—with the subject fills his whole soul han the subject, will suffer him to think of no er thing—of the subject's existence alone will him be conscious, while the vehement inspira- n lasts on his own mind which he communicates his hearer—and will only suffer him to reflect on admirable execution of what he has heard after burst is over, the whirlwind has passed away, the excited feelings have in the succeeding lull k into repose.

The vice of this statesman's public principles was ch more pernicious in its influence upon his lic conduct than the defects which we have just arked were upon his oratory. Bred up in office n his early years, he had become so much accus- ed to its pleasures that he felt uneasy when y were taken from him. It was in him not ordid propensity that produced this frame of id. For emolument, he felt the most entire in-

in boundless measure. His kind and future, attaching him strongly to his associates, strongly fixed their affections upon him, and he felt uneasy at their exclusion from power, desirous to possess the means of gratifying them. Above all, though a great debater, and breathing the air of Parliament as the natural element of his being, he yet was a man of action too, and ready to sway the counsels as well as shake the throne of his country. He loved debate for its exercise of his brilliant faculties; he loved power for its influence, caring less for display than for utility. Hence, when he retired from office, he was in dispute with Lord Castlereagh, (a passage of his life much and unjustly blamed at the time, which, had it been ever so exactly as most men viewed it, has in later times been cast in the thickest shades of oblivion by more

ed in retirement, even made him consent to a scheme of more permanent expatriation,* which the unhappy death of Lord Castlereagh prevented from taking effect. But these were rather as affecting the person than perverting the principles, or misguiding the conduct of the party. An unfortunate love of power, carried too far, and as to make the gratification of it essential to success, is ruinous to the character of a statesman.

It leads often to abandonment of principle, and frequently to unworthy compromise; it subjects a man to frequent dependence; it lowers the tone of his mind, and teaches his spirit to feed on the bounty of others; above all, it occasionally separates him from his natural friends, and brings him acquainted with strange and low associates, whose natures, as their habits, are fit objects of his contempt, and who have with him but one thing in common—that they seek the same object with himself—for love of gain, he for lust of dominion.

“Tu lascerai ogni cosa diletta
 Più caramente, e questo e quello strale
 Che l' arco d' esilio pria saetta;
 Tu proverai come si sa di sale
 Lo pane d' altrui, e come è duro calle
 Lo scendere e il salir altrui scale,
 E che il più ti graverà le spalle
 Sarà la compagnia malvagia e scempia
 Che tu vedrai in questa valle!” †

Governor-General of India. † Dante, Par. xvii.

To quit the objects loved most tenderly ;
 This is the shaft that Exile first lets fly.
 Then shalt thou prove how bitter tastes the
 Of others' bounty ; and how hard to tread
 Another's stair ; and, from thy kindred torn,
 Herd with the vilely bred, and basely born,
 Ingratitude, impiety, mad rage !
 With all of these prepare thee to engage !

Men are apt to devise ingenious excuses for failings which they cherish most fondly, and cannot close their eyes to them, had rather than correct. Mr. Canning reasoned himself into a belief which he was wont to profess, that he could serve his country with effect out of office if there were no public in this country ; as if there were no Parliament ; no forum ; no press ; if the Government were in the hands of a Viceroy whom the Turk had given his signet-ring to, and the favourite to whom the Czarina had tossed her kerchief ; as if the patriot's vocation had ceased, and the voice of public virtue were heard no more ; if the people were without power over their rulers, and only existed to be taxed and to obey ! A pernicious notion never entered the mind of a patriot, nor one more fitted to undermine his virtue. It may be made the cloak for every crime, of flagitious and sordid calculation ; and what was only a sophistical self-deception, or a mission of dangerous self-love, might have been, in the common herd of trading politicians, used as the

very low, and despicable, and unprincipled artifice.

No errors are so dangerous as those false ideas of morals which conceal the bounds between right and wrong; enable Vice to trick herself out in the attire of Virtue; and hide our frailties from ourselves by throwing around them the garb of truth and wisdom.

At the havoc which this unceasing desire of place in Mr. Canning had always been observed by those who saw his public conduct. But when his enemies railed against him as a perpetual and successful intriguer, the charge coming in the company of others known to be false against Mr. Pitt, was very naturally set down among the list of mere inventions. The late publication of Lord Malmesbury's papers, however, must be admitted to afford no small support to this view of Mr. Canning's character. Certainly, the account of his intrigues against Mr. Addington must lower him in the estimation of all men; and it rests upon evidence fully above suspicion, Lord Malmesbury seeing in nothing but what is good, and being his warm supporter; but indeed the proof is found under Canning's own hand. It would not be easy to find anything of a more paltry kind in all the history of political intrigue, than the attempt to drive Addington from office by a manifesto against the Government only unsigned because Mr. Canning could get no other but a friend of his own to sign it; and

designed, he says himself, to be presented "prescript" (as he terms it), stating that *names were ready to be affixed*,"—there being two such names thus ready. Nothing can be striking than the contrast which Mr. Pitt's conduct at this period offered to Mr. Canning's: it is unified, frank, forbearing; kindly towards all, those he had some right to complain of; unkindly to Mr. Canning himself, though warm in his disapproval of his proceedings, and was ever impatient under his ceaseless importunity. Indeed he was compelled to give him more than one repulse; and he even appears to have declined seeing him at Walmer, that he might be spared vexatious activity. Of course, no one concerned in the pitiful affair of the unsigned manifesto ventured upon disclosing it to such a man as Pitt.

It is truly to be lamented that Mr. Pitt did not have kept himself as much aloof from the like and anti-Gallican zeal of Mr. Canning, thus did from his thirst for office. The retreat with Napoleon in 1800 must have proceeded from that influence against which he was not on his guard; for it was wholly at variance with his former conduct.*

* The portion of the Malmesbury Correspondence referred to is vol. iv. p. 103, 104; p. 119, 120, and Lord Malmesbury carried the low intrigue about the

Of Mr. Canning it may be justly observed, as of Mr. Fox, that whatever errors he committed on other questions, on the Abolition of the Slave Trade he was undeviatingly true to sound principles and enlightened policy. Respecting the questions connected with Emancipation his course was by no means so commendable, and in resisting the motion in the Missionary's case, 1824, he acted culpably as well as feebly indeed; but of the Abolitionists he was at once a strenuous and effective ally. It is understood that he deeply lamented the contrast which Mr. Pitt's proceedings on this great question presented to his speeches; and he insisted on bringing forward a motion against the policy of capturing colonies to extend the Slave-traffic, when Mr. Pitt was in retirement.

step further; at least he described it more fully as intended, by concealing the poverty of the names subscribed, to operate as a threat and a deceptive threat. Mr. Pitt's uneasiness under Mr. Canning's restless impatience for office appears in a striking manner. He plainly alludes to him and his operations when he complains of the "zeal and the schemes of selfish people," and describes how he is "disgusted and injured," as well as "beset by them."

SIR SAMUEL ROMILLY.

How different from Mr. Pitt's conduct was that of Lord Grenville, who no sooner acceded to office in 1806, than he encouraged all the measures which he first restrained, and then entirely abolished the infernal traffic, the slave-trade ! The crown lawyers of his administration were directed to bring in a bill for abolishing the foreign slave-trade of our colonies, as well as all importation into the conquered settlements—and when it is recollected that Sir Samuel Romilly at that time added lustre and gave elevation to the office of solicitor-general, it may well be supposed that those duties were cheerfully and duly followed both by him and by his honest, learned, and experienced colleague, Mr. Arthur Pigott. It is fit that no occasion on which Sir Samuel Romilly is named should ever be passed over without an attempt to record the virtues and endowments of so great and so good a man, for the instruction of after ages.

Few persons have ever attained celebrity of name and exalted station, in any country, or in any age, with such unsullied purity of character, as

minent and excellent person. His virtue and inflexible, adjusted, indeed, rather to our standard of ancient morality than to ambitious and less elevated maxims of the mode. But in this he very widely differed from the antique model upon which his character appeared to be framed, and also very far from it, that there was nothing either affected or affected about him ; and if ever a man existed who did more than any other have scorned the weaknesses which disfigured the worth of Cato, or drunk from the harsher virtue of Brutus, it was that man. He was, in truth, a person of the most natural and simple manners, and one in whom the kindest charities and warmest feelings of human nature were blended in the largest measure with that firmness of purpose and unrelaxed consistency of principle, in almost all other men. It is but little compatible with the attributes of a man of this nature and the feelings of a tender

observer who gazes upon the character of that man is naturally struck first of all with that prominent feature, and that is the rare elevation of which we have now marked, so far above the level of the understanding, and which throws the glow of mere genius into the shade. But his was of the highest order. An extraordinary depth of thought ; great powers of attention

and of close reasoning; a memory quick and retentive; a fancy eminently brilliant, but kept in perfect discipline by his judgment and his taste, which was nice, cultivated, and severe, without any of the squeamishness so fatal to vigour—these were the qualities which, under the guidance of the most persevering industry, and with the stimulus of lofty ambition, rendered him unquestionably the first advocate, and the most profound lawyer, of the age he flourished in; placed him high among the ornaments of the Senate; and would, in all likelihood, have given him the foremost place among them all, had not the occupations of his laborious profession necessarily engrossed a disproportionate share of his attention, and made political pursuits fill a subordinate place in the scheme of his life. *Jurisperitorum disertissimus, disertior vero jurisperitissimus.* As his practice, so his authority at the bar and with the bench was unequalled; and his success in Parliament was greatly progressive. Some of his speeches, both forensic and Parliamentary, are nearly unrivalled in excellence. The reply, even as reported in 11 *Vol. junior*, in the cause of *Hugonin v. Beasley*,* when legal matters chiefly were in question, may give

* A case very near resembling this, *Macabe v. Beasley*, was argued in the House of Lords in October, 1831, by O'Connell, and his argument was a masterpiece, and to the judgment of those who heard it.

idea of his extraordinary powers. The last that he pronounced in the House of Commons upon a bill respecting the law of naturalization, which gave him occasion to paint the misconduct of the expiring Parliament in severe and even bold colours, was generally regarded as unexampled by the efforts of his eloquence; nor can they recollect its effects ever cease to lament with increased bitterness of sorrow, the catastrophe which terminated his life and extinguished his glory, when the effect that the vast accession to his influence, being chosen for Westminster, came at a time when his genius had reached its amplest display, his authority in Parliament, unaided by station, sustained the highest eminence. The friend of

virtue, and the advocate of human improvement will mourn still more sorrowfully over his death than the admirers of genius, or those who are dazzled by political triumphs. For no one could doubt that, as he only valued success and his own powers, in the belief that they might conduce to the good of mankind, his augmentation of his authority, each step of progress, must have been attended with some triumph in the cause of humanity and justice. He would at length, in the course of nature, have ceased to live; but then the bigot would have dared to persecute—the despot to vex—the despoiled to suffer—the slave to groan and tremble

—the ignorant to commit crimes—and the ill-trived law to engender criminality.

On these things all men are agreed; but more distinct account be desired of his eloquence it must be said that it united all the more sergraces of oratory, both as regards the manner, the substance. No man argued more closely w the understanding was to be addressed; no man claimed more powerfully when indignation was be aroused or the feelings moved. His language was choice and pure; his powers of invective, sembled rather the grave authority with which judge puts down a contempt, or punishes an offence than the attack of an advocate against his adversary and his equal. His imagination was the mine whose services were rarely required, and whose mastery was never for an instant admitted. His sarcasm was tremendous, nor always very sparingly employed. His manner was perfect, in voice, figure, in a countenance of singular beauty and dignity; nor was anything in his oratory so striking or more effective than the heartfelt sincerity which it throughout displayed, in topic, in diction, in tone, in look, in gesture. "In Senatore oratione sapientis hominis et recti, gravitas animi et naturalis quædam inerat auctoritas, non idcirco, sed ut testimonium dicere putares. Significabat enim non prudentiam solum, sed, quod maxime rem continebat, fidem."*

* Cic., *Brutus*.

considering his exalted station at the bar, his and unsullied character, and the large space he filled in the eye of the country, men naturally looked for his ascent to the highest station of the profession of which he was, during so many years, the ornament and the pride. Nor could any man question that he would have presented to the public the figure of a consummate judge. He alone could throw any doubt upon the extent of his own judicial abilities; and he has recorded in his journal (that valuable document in which he was wont to set down freely his sentiments on men and things) a dissenting opinion, expressing his apprehension, should he ever be so tried, that men would say of him *vox imperii nisi imperasset.*" With this exception, offering so rare an instance of impartial self-judgment, and tending of itself to its own refutation, all who had no interest in the election of others, have held his exclusion from the high place in the law, as one of the heaviest in the price paid for the factious structure of a practical government.

In his private life and personal habits he exhibited a model for imitation, and an object of universal esteem. All his severity was reserved for the forum and the senate, when vice was to be rebuked, or justice vindicated, the public delinquent exposed, or the national oppressor overawed. In the family and in society, where it was his delight,

press of either his hereditary or his native
either France or England,—the perfect
of his taste, refined to such a pitch that
was one of no ordinary power, and his ve
once or twice only he wrote poetry, w
merit,—his freedom from affectation,—
of not being above doing ordinary thi
ordinary way,—all conspired to render
peculiarly attractive, and would have
courted even had his eminence in high
been far less conspicuous. While it wa
ing of one political adversary, the most e
and correct observer* among all the par
men of his time, that he never was out o
while Romilly spoke, without finding th
cause to lament his absence,—it was the
of all who were admitted to his priva
that they forgot the lawyer, the orator

defects are required to be thrown into such a light, and are deemed as necessary as the shades in a picture, or, at least, as the more subdued tones in some parts for giving relief to others, this portrait of Romilly must be content to remain imperfect. For what is there on which to dwell for a moment, if it be not a proneness to prejudice in favour of opinions resembling his own, a blindness to the defects of those who held them, and a prepossession against those who held them not? While there is so very little to censure, there is unhappily much to deplore. A morbid sensibility embittered the hours of his earlier life, and when deprived of the wife whom he most tenderly and justly loved, contributed to bring on an inflammatory fever, in the paroxysm of which he untimely met his end.

The Letter of Mr. Brougham, on Abuse of Character, was communicated in manuscript to him while he was attending the sick bed of that excellent person, whose loss brought on his own. It tended to lighten some of those sorrowful hours, the subject being long deeply engaged his attention; and it was the last thing that he read. His estimate of its merits was exceedingly low; at least he said he was sure no tract had ever been published on a so dry subject, or was likely to excite less attention.

The interest of the subject, however, was by him undervalued; for the letter

through eight editions in the month of October.*

That he highly approved of the labours of the Education Committee, however, and that the conduct of its Chairman shared fully in his approval, there can be no doubt. In the last will which he made, there is a warm expression of personal regard and a strong testimony to public merits, accompanying a desire that his friend would join with another whom he had long known intimately, and whom he consequently most highly and most justly esteemed, Mr. Whishaw, in performing the office of literary executor. The manuscripts which he left were numerous and important. The most interesting are the beautiful Sketches of his early life, and the Journal to which reference has already been made. But his commentaries upon subjects connected with jurisprudence are those of the greatest value; for they show that most of the reforms of which he maintains the expediency, have since his decease been adopted by the Legislature; and they thus form a powerful reason for adopting those others which he recommends, and which are not now less favoured by the general opinion of

* The last book of any importance read by him was Mr. Hallam's first great work, of which he justly formed the highest opinion, and recommended the immediate perusal of it to the author of the letter, as a contrast to that performance, in respect of the universal interest of the subject.

mankind, than were the former class at the early period when he wrote. The injunction to his friends contained in his will, was truly characteristic of the man. He particularly desired them, in determining whether or not the manuscripts should be published, only to regard the prospect there was of their being in any degree serviceable to mankind, and by no means to throw away a thought upon any injury which the appearance of such unfinished works might do to his literary character. Whoever knew him, indeed, was well persuaded that in all his exertions his personal gratification never was for a moment consulted, unless as far as whatever he did, or whatever he witnessed in others, had a relish for him exactly proportioned to its tendency towards the establishment of the principles which formed, as it were, a part of his nature, and towards the promotion of human happiness, the grand aim of all his views. This is that colleague and comrade whose irreparable loss his surviving friends have had to deplore, through all their struggles for the good cause in which they had stood by his side ; a loss which each succeeding day renders heavier, and harder to bear, when the misconduct of some, and the incapacity of others, so painfully recall the contrast of one whose premature end gave the first and the only pang that had ever come from him ; and all his associates may justly exclaim in the words of Tully regard-

ing Hortensius, "Augebat etiam molestiam, quæ magnâ sapientium civium bonorumque penuriâ, vix egregius, conjunctissimusque mecum consiliorum omnium societate, alienissimo reipublicæ tempore extinctus, et auctoritatis, et prudentiæ suæ tribuit nobis desiderium reliquerat: dolebamque, quod ne ut plerique putabant, adversarium, aut obrectatorem laudum mearum, sed socium potius et consortem gloriosi laboris amiseram."

AND here for a moment let us pause. We have been gazing on the faint likenesses of many great men. We have been traversing a Gallery, on either side of which they stand ranged. We have made bold in that edifice to "expatiate and converse on the State affairs" of their age. Cognizant of history, aware of the principles by which the English chiefs are marshalled, sagacious of the springs that move the politic wheel whose revolutions we contemplate, it is an easy thing for us to comprehend the phenomenon most remarkably presented by those figures and their arrangement; and are we led to stare aghast at that which would astound any mind not previously furnished with the ready solution to make all plain and intelligible. But suppose some one from another hemisphere, or another world, admitted to the specta-

find so familiar, and consider what would be the effect upon his mind—"Here," he said, "stand the choicest spirits of their age; the best wits, the noblest orators, the wisest men, the most illustrious patriots. Here stand those whose hands have been raised for their country, whose magical eloquence has shook the world, whose genius has poured out strains worthy of the inspiration of the gods, whose lives were devoted to the purity of their principles, whose virtues were bequeathed to a race grateful for the lessons received from their sufferings and their sacrifices."

Here stand all these 'lights of the world, the demigods of fame;' but here they stand divided on one side of this Gallery, having no common country! With the same bright vision, their efforts were divided, not united; they fiercely combated each other, and not unitedly assailed some common foe; their great talents were bestowed, their more than mortal efforts were expended, not in furthering the general good, but in resisting their country's enemies, but fighting amongst themselves; and all their tri-umphs were won over each other, and all their sufferings were endured at each other's hands!"—"And," the unenlightened stranger would add, "what a sad sight that I survey, or a troubled vision that I behold? Am I indeed contemplating the effects of party among men amongst a rational people, or the

Coryphei of a band of mimes? Or, has he been admitted to survey the cells of some hospital pointed for the insane; or is it, peradventure, the vaults of some Pandemonium through whose windows eyes have been suffered to wander till they ache, and my brain is disturbed?"

Thus far the untutored native of some desert wild on earth, or the yet more ignorant inhabitant of some world, remote "beyond the sky and the milky way." We know more; we know things better. But let us, even in our most enlightened wisdom, pause for a moment on this most anomalous state of the present arrangement of political affairs which practically excludes at least one-half of the population of each age from their country's service, and gives votes both classes infinitely more to mismanage than to promote the general good. And here it may be observed once that nothing can be less correct in the view, who regard the administration of the state practically in the hands of only one-half of the population whilst the excluded portion is solely thwarting their proceedings. The influence of both Parties is exerted, and the movement of the state machine partakes of both the influences pressed upon it; neither taking the influence of the one nor of the other, but a third line of influence between both. This concession, no doubt, gives

evil; but it is very far indeed from removing. Why must there always be this exclusion, and conflict? Does not every one immediately perceive how it must prove detrimental to the public service in the great majority of instances; how miserable a make-shift for something better and more rational it is, even where it does more good than harm? Besides, if it requires a constant and systematic opposition to prevent mischief, and keep the machine of state in the right track, of what use is our boasted representative government, which is designed to give the people control over their rulers, and serves no other purpose at all? Let us for a moment consider the origin of this system of Party, that we may thereafter be able to appreciate its value and to comprehend its manner of working. •

The Origin of Party may be traced by fond theorists and sanguine votaries of the system, to a natural difference of opinion and principle; to the *diversité des sentimens* which has at all times assembled men in combinations or split them in oppositions; but it is pretty plain to any person of ordinary understanding, that a far less romantic ground of union and of separation has for the most part existed—the individual interests of the parties; *idem velle atque idem nolle*; the desire of power and of plunder, which, as all cannot share, each is desirous of snatching and holding. The

history of English party is as certainly that of a few great men and powerful families on the one hand, contending for place and power, with a few others on the opposite quarter, as it is the history of the Plantagenets, the Tudors, and the Stuarts. There is nothing more untrue than to represent principle as at the bottom of it; interest is at the bottom, and the opposition of principle is subservient to the opposition of interest. Accordingly, the result has been, that unless perhaps where a dynasty was changed, as in 1688, and for some time afterwards, and excepting on questions connected with this change, the very same conduct was held and the same principles professed by both Parties when in office and by both when in opposition. Of this we have seen sufficiently remarkable instances in the course of the foregoing pages. The Whig in opposition was for retrenchment and for peace; transplant him into office, he cared little for either. Bills of coercion, suspensions of the constitution, were his abhorrence when propounded by Tories; in place, he propounded them himself. Acts of indemnity and of attainder were the favourites of the Tory in power; the Tory in opposition was the enemy of both. The gravest charge ever brought by the Whig against his adversary was the personal proscription of an exalted individual to please a King; the worst charge that the Tory can level against the Whig is the

t of a proscription still less justifiable to a Viceroy.

cannot surely in these circumstances be deemed ordinary that plain men, uninitiated in the dramatic Mysteries whereof a rigid devotion to forms one of the most sacred, should be apt to very different connexion between principle and action from the one usually put forward; and without at all denying a relation between the two things, they should reverse the account given by Party men, and suspect them of setting up principles in order to marshal them in alliances and hostilities for their own ends, instead of engaging in those contests on the basis of their conflicting principles. In a word,

it seems some reason to suppose that interest has really divided them into bands, principles professed for the purpose of better compassing objects by maintaining a character and gaining the support of the people.

It is to a certain degree this is true, we think hardly to be doubted, although it is also impossible to deny that there is a plain line of distinction, even in the two great Parties which formerly prevailed in this country upon one important point, the boundaries and extent of the Royal Prerogative. If at this line can now be traced it would be to pretend. Mr. Pitt, and even Lord North, on other opinions respecting kingly power

EFFECTS OF PARTY.

Mr. Fox or Mr. Burke; and the rival theories of Sir Robert Filmer and Mr. Locke were as obsolete during the American war as they are at this day. Then have not men, since Jacobitism and Divine Right were exploded, generally adopted opinions upon the practical questions of the day in such a manner as to let them conveniently co-operate with certain acts of statesmen and oppose others; join some family interests together in order to counterbalance some other family interests; league themselves in bodies to keep or to get power in opposition to other bands formed with a similar view? This surely will not, upon a calm review of the facts, be denied by any one whose judgment is worth having.

Observe how plainly the course pursued by one class dictates that to be taken by the other. There must be combinations, and there must be oppositions; and therefore things to differ upon, as things to agree upon, must needs be. Thus, the King is as hostile as bigotry and intolerance can make him to American liberty, and his adherents support him in the war to crush it. He throws the opposition upon the liberal side of the question, without which they can neither together nor continue to resist the measures of any man so blind as seriously to believe that Mr. Burke and Mr. Fox been the King George III. they would have resigned.

down the Americans? If so, let him eyes, and ask himself another simple question: What Minister would ever volunteer his dismember the empire? But if that fails to convince him, let him recollect that the Americans had raged for years before the word "secession" crossed the lips of any man in the House of Parliament—all the attacks were on the ill-treatment of our fellow-subjects, the mismanagement of the war; the Whigs have been more kind rulers and better subjects, but only in order to prevent the last of the two—Separation and Independence. Nay, the Whig Party being now in power, have avowed in Canada the very principles upon which the Tories carried on the former contest. The Whigs may perhaps allege that they have of late been more consistent.

Another instance. While the Whigs were in office, the same King's bigotry refused to tolerate the Roman Catholics. It would be a strange thing to hold, that the Party which was distinguished for its hatred of Romanism, which had founded its power of old on the laws, must of necessity have taken an opposite view of this question because circumstances changed and those laws had become unnecessary. Because the King, supposing them to have been his servants, would have adhered to the ancient

Whig tenets. But when, in opposition them they found some millions ready to rally against the Court, and saw their adversaries, the Ministers of the day, siding with the King, they never hesitated a moment in taking their line, and fought bravely till the battle was won. Without all this, that the altered view of the question was caused by the position of Parties, and dictated the Ministers taking the other line, we may assert, without any fear of contradiction, the promptitude with which the change was made by the leaders is traceable to this source; and their having the power to make their less enlightened followers in the country join in doing violence to their most rooted prejudice in no other way be accounted for than by reference to the operation of Party tactics. Indeed the operation alone can explain the phenomenon of two great factions having changed sides on the whole question; the Tories taking the view now which the Whigs did in the days of the Marlboroughs, the Godolphins, and so on earlier, in the times of the Russells and the Shaftesburys. The solution of the enigma is to be found in the accidental circumstance of the Parties at the two different periods been in opposition—the Whigs in power at one time, the Tories at the other, and the Crown holding the same course in each case. The only other circum-

It exists to modify this conclusion, is, that the principles of the Whig families at the Revolution to their being in power; although it would be a bold thing to assert that, if the Tory families had been preferred, through some accident of personal favour, by William and Anne, the Whig families then in opposition would have supported the penal code; or even that, if George I. had turned his back upon them, and courted their adversaries, they would have kept quite clear of oblique connexions, which some of the most distinguished, as it was, are well known to have had.

Nor is there much reason to suppose that had the Parties changed positions in 1792, the Whigs would, as a matter of course, have been against the war. Half the Party were found to be the most strenuous advocates of a rupture with France, and their accession to office as a body followed this result. The whole could not pursue the same course; and Mr. Pitt having unhappily declared war, the opposition was for peace. If any one is very confident that the great men whom we have been contemplating in their glorious resistance to that ruinous contest, would have maintained peace at all hazards, including a quarrel with the aristocracy and the Court, had they been George III.'s Ministers, we beseech him to consider how they disposed they showed themselves, after Mr.

Pitt's death, to make sacrifices for the great object of pacification, and how forward they were in gratifying the King's prejudices on Hanover, which their new leader declared was as much a British interest as Hampshire. One thing is certain enough, —had the Whigs joined the King and the aristocracy in making war, Mr. Pitt would have been as strenuous an apostle of peace as ever preached that holy word.

If the new line of distinction which now sever the two sets of men be observed, little doubt will be cast upon our former conclusions. The one is for reform, the other against it. But the old Whig Party were always very lukewarm reformers: one section of them were its most bitter enemies—the rest, with few exceptions, its very temperate supporters. Even Mr. Fox's reform of Parliament would have gone into a mighty narrow compass. But there rests no kind of doubt on this as well as on the other principles having been rather the consequence than the cause of Party distinctions; for when Pitt in opposition, and afterwards in office, brought forward the question, he received a very moderate and divided support from the Whigs; and no part of the Government which carried the question in 1831, and of the late Reform Government are Tories who had before been strenuous opposers to all changes whatever in our parliamentary system. That the same Ministry of 1831

stantially Whig, and carried the question by a far greater effort than ever Mr. Pitt made for its advancement, is not to be doubted. But their influence, nay their existence depended upon it: they gained more by it, as a Party, than by any other course they could have gained. This then can form no exception whatever to the position that, when parties are formed mainly for the purpose of obtaining and retaining power, they adopt principles, and act upon them, with a view to serve this main object of the Party union. The people in a country like this have their weight as well as the Court and the aristocracy, and their opinions and feelings must be consulted by Party leaders in order to gain their support. Whatever insincerity there may be in the latter, however they may be suspected of professing opinions for the purpose of their policy, the people can have no such sinister motives. Hence a Party may take popular ground when in opposition with a view of defeating the Court, and it may also take the same ground in office to fortify itself against a hostile Court or a generally unfriendly aristocracy.

This induction of facts is incomplete, if the *instantia negativa*, the converse proof, be wanting, cases where great principles not espoused by parties, nor made matter of Party manœuvring, have had a different fate. Unhappily there are comparatively very few questions of importance

which have enjoyed this exemption. One of the greatest of all, however, the Slave-Trade, is of the number; the Abolition having been first taken up by Thomas Clarkson, a Foxite in opinion, and in Parliament by Mr. Wilberforce, a friend of Mr. Pitt (but neither of them Party men), was never made the subject of Party distinction. Accordingly, the men of both sides were divided on it, according to the colours of their real opinions, and not of their Party differences: nor was it ever either supported or opposed by the marshalled strength of faction. The doctrines of Free Trade and the amendment of the Criminal Law furnish other instances of the same rare description. No one can be at any loss to perceive how very differently these questions have been handled from the Party ones to which we before adverted. No one can be at a loss to perceive how much truth is gained by the remarkable diversity.

We have hitherto been referring to the far great principles,—of general questions; but the same will be found to have been the treatment of subjects more personal and accidental. Mr. Fox, after a short co-operation with the Whigs, sacrificed them to the prejudices of the King, and returned to power, while they retired to opposition places and habits. If, instead of this result, the negotiations of 1804 had led to the union of the two great Parties, he is a b

take upon himself to affirm that the
 could on the Treasury Bench have read
 Vincent's famous Tenth Report with the
 s which glared upon Lord Melville from
 its side of the House, and conducted them
 impeachment of that Minister a few months
 s. Again, the greatest personal question
 distracted rather than divided the country,
 treatment of the Queen in 1820. Had the
 men been in office under George IV., as
 e in the habits of Party connexion with
 1806, would they have been so strenuous in
 his favourite Bill of Pains and Penalties?

be a very adventurous thing to assert
 of the kind, when we recollect how un-
 y they lent themselves in 1806 to the first
 on of the ill-fated Queen by the "Delicate
 tion," as it was most inappropriately
 hich they conducted in secret and behind
 of the accused. The Tories were then
 ition to the Prince and to the Whig mi-
 und they bitterly denounced that secret
 ing. Who can doubt that had the Whigs
 been the ministers and proposed the Bill,
 have found as strenuous opposition from
 s as this Bill found from the Whigs? But
 ft to our conjectures upon this point? No
 ter. The Tories were afterwards in opposi-
 e Whigs in office; and a bill of attainder

has been defended by the Whigs and opposed by the Tories, having for its avowed object to banish men from their country without a trial, or a hearing, or even a notice; and accomplishing its object by declaring their entrance within the native land a capital offence. Had the Whigs brought forward a bill to exile the Queen without hearing her, and to declare her land in England high treason, we have a right to suppose that the Tories, being in opposition, would strenuously resisted such a measure. Two cases more parallel can hardly be imagined, for there was a charge of treason in both; there was the temporary absence of the party accused; there was a storm or tumult expected upon that party's return; there was the wish to prevent such a return; and there was no desire in either the one case or the other to shed a drop of blood, but only a wish to gain an object by a threat. On the other hand, have the Tories any right to affirm that if they had been in power when the Canada affairs were settled, no bills of attainder would have been passed? The forms of law might have been artificially and skilfully preserved; but the principles of substantial justice would have been better maintained towards Papineau and his adherents in 1838 than they were towards Caroline in 1820, we have no right whatever to believe. The Bill of 1820 is the great blot

public character, the worst passage by far in the history of their Party; and they must have while they assented to its iniquities and led the country into the most imminent danger, that they were yielding to the vilest cause of an unprincipled and tyrannical master.

Must not be supposed that those who concur in the general remarks upon Party are proposing a very severe censure upon all public men in this country, or placing themselves vainly in the eminence removed from strife, and high above all vulgar contentions—

*picere unde queas alios, passimque videre,
 are, atque viam palanteis quærere vitæ,
 tate ingenio, contendere nobilitate,
 teis atque dies niti præstante labore,
 summas emergere opes, rerumque potiri.*

LUCRET. II.

same now cast upon politicians affects them equally; and is only like that which ethical systems on the selfish theory of morals may be said to throw upon all human conduct. In what blame applies not to individuals, but to the system; and that system is proved to be bad; and is so far from being useful to the interests of the country, corrupts the people, injurious to honest principle, and is the very best a clumsy contrivance for going on the affairs of the State.

partly the result of our monarchical constitution, in which the prince must rule by in-

has been defended by the Whigs and opposed by the Tories, having for its avowed object to banish men from their country without a trial, or a hearing, or even a notice; and accomplishing this object by declaring their entrance within their native land a capital offence. Had the Whigs in power brought forward a bill to exile the Queen without hearing her, and to declare her landing in England high treason, we have a right to affirm that the Tories, being in opposition, would have strenuously resisted such a measure. Two cases more parallel can hardly be imagined, for there was a charge of treason in both; there was the temporary absence of the party accused; there was a riot or tumult expected upon that party's return; there was the wish to prevent such a return; and there was no desire in either the one case or the other to shed a drop of blood, but only a wish to gain the object by a threat. On the other hand, have the Tories any right to affirm that if they had chanced to be in power when the Canada affairs were to be settled, no bills of attainder would have been passed? The forms of law might have been more artificially and skilfully preserved; but that the principles of substantial justice would have been better maintained towards Papineau and his adherents in 1838 than they were towards Queen Caroline in 1820, we have no right whatever to believe. The Bill of 1820 is the great blot upon



fluence rather than prerogative; but it more to be derived from the aristocraticism of the constitution. The great families, struggles with each other and against the have recourse to Party leagues, and the people from time to time drawn into the conflicts evils which flow from this manner of conducting public affairs are manifest. The two greatest questionably are, first, the loss of so many men to the service of the country, as well as the devotion of almost the whole powers of all men to party contests, and the devotion of many of those men to obstructing the public interest instead of helping it; and next, the spirit in playing the party game, is made of the sacred principles, the duping of the people by the assumption of their aristocratic leaders to dictate their opinions to them. It is a sorry state of any political machine that it is so controlled as only to be kept in order by the loss of principle and the conflict of forces which the first faults implies. It is a clumsy and unwieldy government which can only be effected by the operation of jarring principles, which the party-gyrists or rather apologists of these anomalies commend. But it is a radical vice in any government to exclude the people from forming their opinions, which must, if proceeding from true impulses, be kept in strict accordance with

ments, that it is
 if possible still to render
 people only tools as of ali-
 by, instead of making
 of the whole engine and
 object of all its operations.
 If this we may be well assured, that as Party
 hitherto been known amongst us, it can only
 come during the earlier stages of a nation's po-
 l growth. While the people are ignorant of
 interests, and as little acquainted with their
 rights as with their duties, they be treated by
 leading factions as hitherto been
 treated by our own. God be praised, they are not
 what they were in the palmy days of factious
 ocracy, of the Walpoles, and the Foxes, and
 Pelhams—never consulted, and never thought
 unless when it was desirable that one mob should
 shout "Church and King," and another should
 shout back "No Pope, and no Pretender." They
 have even made great advances since the close of
 American war, and the earlier periods of the
 French Revolution, when, through fear of the Ca-
 tholics, the library of Lord Mansfield, and through
 aid of the Dissenters, the apparatus of Dr.
 Staley, were committed to the flames. Their
 progress is now rapid, and their success assured in
 attainment of all that can qualify them for
 government, emancipate them from pupilage,

and entitle them to undertake the management of their own affairs. Nor will they any more lead leading men to make up their opinions for them, as doctors do the prescriptions which they take, or consent to be the tools and the dupes of the Party any more.

Let us now, by way of contrast rather than of comparison, turn our eye towards some of the leaders of mankind in the countries where Party spirit can ever be shown, or in circumstances where a great danger threatening all excludes the influence of faction altogether, only for a season, and while the pressure continues.

Contemporary with George III., and with the statesmen whose faint likenesses we have been viewing, were some of the most celebrated whom either the old or the new world has produced. Their talents and their fortunes came in conflict with those of our own rulers, upon some of the most memorable occasions which have exercised the one or affected the other. We form no inappropriate appendix to the preceding sketches, if we now endeavour to portray some of those distinguished individuals.

FRANKLIN.

the most remarkable men certainly of our
 a politician, or of any age as a philo-
 was Franklin; who also stands alone in
 ag together these two characters, the
 that man can sustain, and in this, that
 borne the first part in enlarging science
 of the greatest discoveries ever made, he
 e second part in founding one of the
 empires in the world.

is truly great man everything seems to
 that goes towards the constitution of ex-
 erit. First, he was the architect of his
 tune. Born in the humblest station, he
 himself by his talents and his industry,
 he place in society which may be attained
 e help only of ordinary abilities, great
 ion, and good luck; but next to the loftier
 which a daring and happy genius alone
 e; and the poor Printer's boy, who at one
 of his life had no covering to shelter his
 om the dews of night, rent in twain the
 ominion of England, and lived to be the

Ambassador of a Commonwealth which formed, at the Court of the haughty Monarch of France who had been his allies.

Then, he had been tried by prosperity as adverse fortune, and had passed unhurt through the perils of both. No ordinary apprentice, commonplace journeyman, ever laid the foundations of his independence in habits of industry and temperance more deep than he did, whose example was afterwards to rank him with the Galileis and the Newtons of the old world. No putative scholar to shine in Courts, or assist at the Councils of Monarchs, ever bore his honours in a loftier manner more easily, or was less spoiled by the enjoyment of them than this common workman did when negotiating with Royal representatives, or caring for all the beauty and fashion of the most splendid Court in Europe.

Again, he was self-taught in all he knew. Hours of study were stolen from those of sleep, or of meals, or gained by some ingenious contrivance for reading while the work of his daily life went on. Assisted by none of the helps which affluence tenders to the studies of the rich, he had to supply the place of tutors, by reading with diligence, and of commentaries, by repetition. Nay, the possession of books was obtained by copying what the art which he exercised furnished easily to others.

Next, the circumstances under which others accumb he made to yield, and bent to his own purposes—a successful leader of a revolt that ended in complete triumph after appearing desperate for years; a great discoverer in philosophy without the ordinary helps to knowledge; a writer famed for his chaste style without a classical education; a skillful negotiator, though never bred to politics; rising as a favourite, nay, a pattern of fashion, from the guest of frivolous Courts, the life which he had begun in garrets and in workshops.

Lastly, combinations of faculties in others deemed impossible, appeared easy and natural in him. The philosopher, delighting in speculation, was also eminently a man of action. Ingenious reasoning, sound and subtle consultation, were in him combined with prompt resolution, and inflexible firmness of purpose. To a lively fancy, he joined a calm and deep reflection; his original and inventive genius stooped to the convenient alliance with the most ordinary prudence in everyday affairs; his mind that soared above the clouds, and was conversant with the loftiest of human contemplations, disdained not to make proverbs and feign fables for the guidance of apprenticed youths and servile maidens; and the hands that sketched a constitution for a whole continent, or drew down the lightning from heaven, easily and cheerfully lent themselves to simplify the apparatus by

which truths were to be illustrated, or discovered, or pursued.

His whole course both in acting and in speaking was simple and plain, ever preferring the easiest and the shortest road, nor ever having recourse to any but the simplest means to compass his ends. His policy rejected all refinements, aimed at accomplishing its purposes by the rational and obvious expedients. His language was unadorned, and used as the medium of communicating his thoughts, not of raising admiration but it was pure, expressive, racy. His manner of reasoning was manly and cogent, the address concise, that preferring decision to discussion never exceeded a quarter of an hour in a public address. His correspondence upon business whether private or on state affairs, is a model of brevity and compendious shortness; nor can his papers surpass in dignity and impression which he is believed to have been the author of. His mode of philosophising was the popularisation of the Inductive principle, so adapted to his nature and so clearly adapted to common sense, that we can have little doubt would have been suggested by Francis Bacon, though that in this case it would have been

in more simple terms. But of all this great man's scientific excellencies, the most remarkable is the plainness, the simplicity, the apparent inadequacy, the means which he employed in his experimental researches. His discoveries were made with hardly any apparatus at all; and if, at any time, he had been led to employ instruments of a somewhat less ordinary description, he never rested satisfied until he had, as it were, afterwards translated the process, by resolving the problem with the simplest machinery, that you might say he had done it wholly unaided by apparatus. The experiments by which the identity of lightning and electricity was demonstrated, were made with a sheet of brown paper, a bit of twine, a silk thread, and an iron key.

Upon the integrity of this great man, whether public or in private life, there rests no stain. Strictly honest, and even scrupulously punctual in his dealings, he preserved in the highest fortune the regularity which he had practised as well as cultivated in the lowest. The phrase which he used when interrupted in his proceedings upon the most arduous and important affairs, by a demand for some petty item in a long account,—“Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treads out the corn,”—has been cited against him as proving the laxity of his accounts when in trust of public money; it plainly shows the reverse: for he well knew that

country abounding in discussion, and full of his personal animosities, nothing could be gained immunity by refusing to produce his vouchers the fitting time; and his venturing to use such language demonstrates that he knew his conduct to really above all suspicion.

In domestic life he was faultless, and in the intercourse of society, delightful. There was a constant good humour and a playful wit, easy and high relish, without any ambition to shine, the natural fruit of his lively fancy, his solid, natural good sense, and his cheerful temper, that gave conversation an unspeakable charm, and alike suited every circle, from the humblest to the most elevated. With all his strong opinions, so often solemnly declared, so imperishably recorded in his deeds, he retained a tolerance for those who differed with him, which could not be surpassed in men whose principles hang so loosely about them as to be taken for a convenient cloak, and laid down when found to impede their progress. In his family he was everything that worth, warm affections, and sound prudence could contribute, to make a man both useful and amiable, respected and beloved. In religion, he would by many be reckoned a latitudinarian; yet it is certain that his mind was imbued with a deep sense of the Divine perfections, a constant impression of our accountable nature, and a lively hope of future enjoyment. Accordingly,

death-bed, the test of both faith and works, was easy and placid, resigned and devout, and indicated at once an unflinching retrospect of the past, and a comfortable assurance of the future.

If we turn from the truly great man whom we have been contemplating to his celebrated contemporary in the world, who only affected the philosophy that Franklin possessed, and employed his talents in literary pursuits, in extinguishing that life was consecrated to is marvellous indeed, between

FREDERIC II.

IN one particular this celebrated Prince is said to resemble the great Republican. His years were spent in the school of adversity. Whether the influence of this discipline, usually so propitious to the character of great men, was effective in chastening his principles, and in calling and regulating those feelings which the education of a court tends either to stifle or pervert, is not learnt not only from the private history of his reign, but from some anecdotes preserved of his conduct immediately after he came to the throne. While, as yet, his heart could not have become callous from the habits of uncontrolled dominion, nor his principles unsettled by the cares of his turbulent career. When William discovered his plan for escaping from Prussia, he caused him to be arrested, together with his confidential friend De Catt, and instantly brought to trial before a military commission. The interposition of Austria alone saved the prince's life; but he was thrown into prison at the fort of Custrin, where he was beheaded on a scaffold raised before his

the level of the window
ed to view this affliction
powered, that

his u
to his
of William,
cupation; his
reatment as hard
by degrees, howe
closely, and he was
r cover of night, by
in the neighbourhood,
able nobleman's family,
greatest kindness, and exp
nt risk on his account. Al
much of his time, for above
in from the humanity or treat
It was chiefly with music and re
led himself in the gloom of his
e good folks not only furnished him
d candles, but made little concerts for
venings, when he could escape to enjoy
society. The young Wrechs (for that was
e of this family) were sufficiently accom-
and sprightly to gain Frederic's esteem.
hted much in their company; and though

they were so numerous, that the baron was kept in narrow circumstances by the necessary expenses of their maintenance and education, he contrived, by straitening himself still more, to scrape together supplies of money to the amount of above six thousand rix-dollars, with which he assisted, from time to time, his royal guest.

Such were the obligations which Frederic owed, during this eventful period of his life, first to the House of Austria, whose spirited and decisive interference saved him from the scaffold; next, to the unfortunate De Catt, who had sacrificed his life in the attempt to aid his escape; and, lastly, to the amiable family of the Wrechs, who, at the imminent risk of their lives, and at a certain expense little suited to their moderate circumstances, had tenderly alleviated the hardships of his confinement. As Frederic mounted the throne a short time after he was set at liberty, we might naturally expect that the impression of favours like these would outlive the ordinary period of royal memory. The first act of his reign was to invade the hereditary dominions of Austria, and reduce to the utmost distress the daughter representative of the monarch whose timely assistance had saved his life, by heading a powerful combination against her, after stripping her of an invaluable province. The family and relations of De Catt never received, during the whole of his

reign, even a smile of royal favour. To the Wrecks he not only never repaid a kreutzer of the money which they had pinched themselves to raise for his accommodation, but manifested a degree of coldness amounting to displeasure: so that this worthy and accomplished family were in a kind of *diagnose* during his time, never received well at court, nor promoted to any of the employments which form in some sort the patrimony of the aristocracy. They were favoured by Prince Henry; and all that they could boast of owing to the king was, to use an expression of his most zealous panegyrist, that "*he did not persecute them*" on account of his brother's patronage. His defenders screened his ungrateful conduct behind the Prussian law, which prohibits the loan of money to princes of the blood, and declares all debts contracted by them null. But since the king was to govern himself by the enactments of this law, it would have been well if the prince, too, had considered them. We have heard of Louis XII. proudly declaring that it was unworthy the King of France to revenge the wrongs of the Duke of Orleans. It was reserved to the unfeeling meanness of Frederic to show us, that the King was not bound by the highest obligations of the Prince of Prussia—that he could shelter himself from the claims of honour and gratitude, by appealing to laws which had been generally violated in his behalf.

But it may be fair to mention the solitary instance of a contrary description, which we can find in comparing his conduct on the throne with the favours received during his misfortunes. He had been assisted in his musical relaxations at Potsdam by the daughter of a citizen, who, without any personal charms, had the accomplishment most valuable to the prince, secluded as he was from all society, and depending for amusement almost entirely on his flute. His father no sooner heard of this intimacy, than he supposed there must be some criminal intercourse between the young amateurs, and proceeded to meet the tender passion by the universal remedy which he was in the habit of administering to his subjects. The lady was seized, delivered over to the executioner, and publicly whipped through the streets of Potsdam. This cruel disgrace, of course, put an end to the concerts, and to her estimation in society. When Frederic came to the throne, she was reduced to the humble station of a hackney-coachman's wife; and, with a rare effort of gratitude and generosity, he was pleased to settle upon her a pension, of very little less than thirty-five pounds a-year.

There is nothing in the history of his after-life that shows any improvement in the feelings with which he began it, and which his own suffering had not chastened, nor the kindness that relieved

seem softened. In one of his battles, happening to turn his head round he saw his nephew, the hereditary Prince, fall to the ground, his horse being killed under him. Frederic, thinking the rider was shot, cried, without stopping as he rode past, "Ah! there's the Prince of Prussia killed; at his saddle and bridle be taken care of!"

William Augustus, the King's elder brother, and heir apparent to the crown, had for many years been his principal favourite. He was a prince of great abilities, and singularly amiable character—modest almost to timidity—and repaying the friendship of Frederic by a more than filial devotion. He had served near his person in all his campaigns, had constantly distinguished himself in war, and, after the disastrous battle of Mollin, was intrusted with the command of half the retreating army. While the King succeeded in bringing off his own division safe into Saxony, the Prince, attacked on all hands by the whole force of the Austrians, suffered several considerable losses on his march, and gained the neighbourhood of Dresden with some difficulty. He was received, as well as his whole staff, with the greatest marks of displeasure. For several days the King spoke to none of them; and then sent a message by one of his generals—"*Que pour bien faire, il devoit leur faire trancher la tête, excepter le général Winterfeldt.*" The Prince was of too

feeling a disposition not to suffer extremely from this treatment. He addressed a letter to the King in which he stated that the fatigues of the campaign, and his distress of mind, had totally injured his health; and received for answer a permission to retire, couched in the most bitter and humiliating reproaches. From this time he lived quietly in the bosom of his family, a prey to the deepest melancholy, but retaining for the King sentiments of warm attachment, and respect bordering upon veneration, although never permitted to approach his person. One interview only brought the brothers together after their unhappy separation. The different members of the Royal family during the most disastrous period of the Seven years' war, when the existence of the House of Brandenburg seemed to depend on a diminution in the number of its enemies, united their voices, exhorting the King to attempt making such a peace with France and Sweden as might be consistent with the honour of his crown. Prince William was entreated to lay their wishes before him; and oppressed as he was with disease, trembling to appear in his brother's presence, scarcely daring to hope even a decorous reception, he yet thought his duty required this effort, and he supplicated an audience. Frederic allowed him to detail fully his whole views, and was willing to hear from him the unanimous prayers of his relations. He

before the King; besought him, conjured a tear in his eyes, and embraced his knees the warmth of fraternal affection, and allusion of the most enthusiastic loyalty. Not a word of pity for the cause he pleaded, nor any of his own ancient affection was kindled in his bosom at so touching a scene. He

remained silent and stern during the whole interval then put an end to it by these words: *«ur, vous partirez demain pour Berlin: ne des enfans: vous n'êtes pas qu'à cela.»* His silence did not long survive this memorable

was the fate of his favourite brother. The Amelia was his youngest and most beloved she was one of the most charming and polished women in Europe. But after being parted by her elder sister, Ulrica, out of a Royal command, which that intriguer obtained for herself, fell in love with the well-known Baron who was by her brother shut up in a fortress ten years; and Frederic daily saw pining before his eyes his favourite sister, become almost paralysed with mental suffering, and without a pang or a sigh, much more without thought of relieving it by ceasing to persecute her friend.

Frederic contemplated this monarch in the retirement of domestic life, it is now fit that we should

view him among his friends. Of these there absolutely not one whom he did not treat exemplary harshness, except Jordan, who lived only a few years after Frederic came to throne, while he was too much occupied with to allow him time for mixing with that society, in which he afterwards vainly hoped to enjoy the pleasures of entire equality, and always, sooner or later, the King prevailed the companion. Of all his friends, the Marquis d'Argens seems to have been the most constant and most respectfully attached to his person. In the field he was his constant companion: his time in winter-quarters was passed in each of these societies. At one time the King had no other confidant; and he it was who turned aside his purpose to commit suicide, when, at the desperate crisis of his affairs, life had become unbearable. But D'Argens committed the fault seldom pardoned by any prince, by Frederic not to he acted as if he believed his Royal friend sincere in desiring that they should live on equal terms. The pretext for finally discarding his ancient companion was poor in the extreme. When the marquis consented to come into Frederic's service and leave his own country, it was upon the express condition that he should have permission to return home when he reached the age of seventy. He had a brother in France, to whom he was

attached, and owed many obligations. As he approached this period of life, his brother prepared a house and establishment for his reception; nothing was wanting but the king's leave to

him retire from a service to which he was ill adapted by his years, and rendered aversive by the coldness daily more apparent in the treatment he received. But Frederic, notwithstanding his arguments, and in spite of his diminished attachment to this faithful follower, peremptorily refused him his discharge: he allowed him a sort of leave to see his brother, and took his promise to return in six months. When the visit was paid,

the marquis had arrived at Bourg on his return, the exertions which he made to get back within the stipulated time threw him into a dangerous illness. As soon as the six months expired, Frederic, receiving no letter and hearing nothing of him, became violently enraged, and ordered his orders to be stopped, and his name to be struck from the lists with disgrace. The account of these oppressive measures reached the marquis as he was on the point of continuing his journey after his recovery. And when he died, the king caused a monument to be raised to his memory, as a proof that he repented of his harsh and hasty proceedings against him.

The treatment which Marshal Schwerin met with for gaining the battle of Molwitz is well

skill of the general. Ever after, Frederick treated him with marked coldness; neglected him as the necessity of claiming assistance his genius would permit; and, finally, reproached him of his exposing himself to certain death at the battle of Prague, where this great master of the art of war fell undistinguished, leaving his family to the neglect of his sovereign, and his memory to be honoured by an enemy whom he had conquered.*

After Frederic had quarrelled with Voltaire, he heard of a Chevalier Masson, whose talents and accomplishments were represented as far superior to replace those which he had just lost. He was vain and caprice. It was with this gentleman could be induced to go into the service in which he stood high; he arrived at Berlin, though it was

tly to the royal circles. A single indiscreet
of wit ruined him in the king's favour. He
it in disgust to his study, where he lived the
f a hermit for many years, his existence was
a to the world, and the most important of
cerns equally unknown to him. As he had
sacrificed all his prospects to accept of Fre-
s patronage, and had wasted the prime of his
s attending upon his capricious pleasure, it
have been expected that he would at least
been permitted to enjoy his poor pension, so
purchased, to the end of his inoffensive

But after twenty years of seclusion, such as
ve described, he had his name suddenly struck
the lists, and his appointments stopped, and
obliged to seek his own country with the
gs which his parsimony had enabled him to

a same selfish spirit, or carelessness towards
elings and claims of others, which marked
ric's conduct to his family and friends, was
ly conspicuous in his treatment of inferior
dants, both in the relations of society and of
ess. In his familiar intercourse with those
he permitted to approach him, we can find
ne steadily drawn for the regulation of his
demeanour, or of theirs. His inclination
to have been, that he should always main-
be manifest superiority, without owing it in

happened, that a conversation begun upon
footing, was terminated by a single look
from the royal companion. He refused
to indulge his sarcastic humour and his
sallies directed with little delicacy or
tact against all around him; and un-
willing to have, at the moment, such
a sight, without any possibility of resist-
ance, those whom his railleries had forced into
silence, he was sure to supply the defect by a
silence which he alone of the circle
could maintain. It is not describing his behaviour corre-
ctly that in the hours of relaxation he was
forgetting the monarch, provided his com-
fort forgot him. This would at least have
been a general rule, one principle of behavior
which all might conform as soon as it was made
known. But Frederic laid down and took up his
moments which his guests could never dis-
turb, far from insisting that they should be

the submission to his caprices; not merely a passive obedience, but a compliance with every aim and turn of his mind; sometimes requiring to be met with exertions, sometimes to be received quietly. That we may form some idea of the nature and extent of this meanness, so poor in one who called himself a Royal Philosopher, it is proper to remark, that all those wits or other dependants with whom he passed his time, were entirely supported by his pensions; and that, beside the dangers of a fortress, any resistance was sure to cost them and their families their daily bread.

His ordinary mode of enjoying society was, to select for a few of the philosophers who were always at his readiness, either when he dined, or had an hour's leisure from business, which he wished to beguile by the recreations of talking and receiving worship.

On one of these occasions, the savans in waiting were Quintus Icilius* and Thiebault; and it happened that the king, after giving his opinion at great length, and with his usual freedom, upon the arrangement of Providence, which conceals from mortals the period of their lives, called upon them to urge whatever could be stated in its defence.

This was a Leyden professor, originally named Guirard, who, being fond of military science, had been transformed into a colonel of chasseurs by the king; and then, in his admiration of Julius Cæsar's aide-de-camp, had ordered to assume the name of Quintus Icilius.

Quintus, unwarily supposing that he really wished to hear the question discussed, gave a reason, which appears completely satisfactory. The philosopher of Sans-Souci, however, only desired his guests to take the opposite side of the argument, in the conviction that they were not to invalidate his reasoning. And when Quintus fairly destroyed the force of it, by suggesting, that the certain knowledge of our latter end would infallibly diminish the ardour of our exertions for a considerable period beforehand, the king thought proper to break out into a violent personal invective. "le (says Thiebault, who witnessed the extremely serious but by no means singular scene,) "la foudre partit aussi subite qu'imprévue." *'Cette façon de juger,'* lui dit le Roi, *'est bonne pour vous, mais de boue et de fange ! Mais apprenez, si vous le pouvez, que ceux qui ont l'âme noble, élevée et sensible aux charmes de la vertu, ne raisonnent point sur des maximes aussi misérables et aussi honteuses ! Apprenez, Monsieur, que l'honnête homme fait toujours le bien tant qu'il peut le faire, et uniquement parce que c'est le bien, sans rechercher quels sont ceux qui en profiteront ; mais vous ne sentez point ces choses ; vous n'êtes point fait pour les sentir.'*—Vol. i. p. 84.

At one of his literary entertainments, when, in order to promote free conversation, he reminded the circle that there was no monarch present, &c.

every one might think aloud, the conversation ed to turn upon the faults of different govern- and rulers. General censures were passing mouth to mouth, with the kind of freedom such hints were calculated, and apparently led to inspire. But Frederic suddenly put a to the topic by these words—“ *Paix ! paix ! leurs ; prenez garde, voilà le roi qui arrive ; faut pas qu’il vous entende, car peut-être se it-il obligé d’être encore plus méchant que* ’—Vol. v. p. 329.

see sketches may serve to illustrate the con- of Frederic in society, and to show how far he forget his power in his familiar intercourse inferiors. As yet, we have seen only caprice, at meanness, or, to call it by the right name, dice, which consists in trampling upon the , and fighting with those who are bound. treatment of persons employed in his service, is manner of transacting business with them, its us with equal proofs of a tyrannical dis- on, and examples of injustice and cruelty, ther unparalleled in the history of civilized chies. It is well known, that a large pro- n of the Prussian army owes its origin to a of crimping, which the recruiting officers on in foreign states, and chiefly in the distant of the Empire. As Frederic II. did not uce this odious practice, he might, perhaps,

be allowed to escape severe censure for not publishing it generally; but there can be only one opinion upon his conduct in those particular cases which came to his knowledge, and where his attention was specifically called to the grievous injuries sustained by individuals. Of the many anecdotes which have been preserved, relative to this point one sample may suffice. A French captain of cavalry, returning to his native country, after long absence in the West Indies, was seized, in journey along the Rhine, by some Prussian recruiting officers; his servant was spirited away, and was himself sent to the army as a private soldier in which capacity he was forced to serve during the rest of the Seven-years' war, against the country he it remarked, of his own country. In vain he addressed letter after letter to his friends, acquainting them with his cruel situation: the Prussian post-office was too well regulated to let any of these pass. His constant memorials to the King were received, indeed, but not answered. At the peace was concluded, he was marched with his regiment into garrison; and, at the next review the King, coming up to his colonel, inquired if a person named M—— was still in the corps. On his being produced, the King offered him a commission; he declined it, and received his discharge. It was thus that Frederic obtained, by kidnapping, the troops whom he used in plundering

labours. If finances were frequently indebted to similar means for their supply. The King's private secretary M. Galsper, by his orders, caused six millions of ducats to be made in a very bad manner, with a third of base metal in their composition. This sum was then intrusted to a Jew of the Jew Ephraim, so well known in the history of Frederic's coinage, for the purpose of having it circulated in Poland, where it was accordingly employed in buying up every portable article of value that could be found. The Poles, however, soon discovered that they had been imposed upon, and contrived to transfer the loss to their neighbours, by purchasing with the new ducats whatever they could procure in Russia. The Russians, in like manner, found out the cheat, and complained so loudly that the Empress interfered, and made inquiries, which led to a discovery of the quarter whence the issue had originally come. She then ordered the bad money to be brought into her treasury, and exchanged it for good coin. She insisted upon Frederic taking the new ducats at their nominal value, which he did not dare to refuse, but denied that he had any concern in the transaction; and to prove this, sent for his agent Galsper, to whom he communicated the summa in which he was, and the necessity of having him up as the author of the imposture. Galsper objected to so dishonourable a proposal.

.

The King flew into a passion; kicked him violently on the shins, according to his custom; sent him to the fortress of Spandau for a year and half, and then banished him to a remote village of Mecklenburg.

Frederic acted towards his officers upon a principle the most unjust, as well as unfeeling, as can be imagined. It was his aim to encourage military service among the higher ranks: the honours he conceived were adapted for all meaner employments in the state, and should occupy those stations in the army which were thought, the birthright of the aristocracy. Instead of carrying this view into effect by the only arrangement which was reconcileable to good faith—establishing a certain standard of merit below which no one should be admitted to be in commission either in peace or in war—he allowed persons of all descriptions to enter the army as officers, when there was any occasion for their services, and after the necessity had ceased, dismissed those whose nobility appeared questionable. Nothing could be more terrible to the brave soldier who for years had led his troops to victory, and shared in their distresses, than the return of peace. After sacrificing their prospects in life, their years, their health, with their ease, to the painful service, and sought, through toils and wounds, and misery, the provision which a ce-

rank in the profession affords, they were liable, at a moment's warning, to be turned ignominiously out of the army, whose fortunes they had followed, because the king either discovered, or fancied, that their family was deficient in rank.

We shall pass over the extreme jealousy with which Frederic treated all those to whom he was under the necessity of confiding any matters of state. Nothing, in the history of Eastern manners, exceeds the rigorous confinement of the cabinet secretaries. But we shall proceed to an example of the respect which the Justinian of the North, the author of the Frederician code, paid to the persons of those intrusted with the administration of justice in his dominions. This great lawgiver seems never to have discovered the propriety of leaving his judges to investigate the claims of suitors, any more than he could see the advantage of committing to tradesmen and farmers the management of their private affairs. In the progress which he made round his states at the season of the reviews, he used to receive from all quarters the complaints of those who thought themselves aggrieved by the course of justice; and because he had to consider the whole of the cases in addition to all the other branches of his employment, he concluded that he must be a more competent arbiter than they whose lives are devoted to the settlement of one part of such disputes. In

one of his excursions, a miller, a tenant of his, complained to him that his stream was injured by a neighbouring proprietor; and the king ordered his chancellor to have the complaint investigated. The suit was brought in form, and judgment given against the miller. Next year he renewed his application, and affirmed that his narrative of the facts was perfectly true; yet the court nonsuited him. The king remitted the cause to the second tribunal, with injunctions to be careful in doing the man justice: he was, however, again cast; and once more complained bitterly to the king, who secretly sent a major of his army to examine on the spot the question upon which two highest judicatures had decided, and to report. The gallant officer, who was also a neighbour of the miller, reported in his favour; and two other persons, commissioned in the same private manner, returned with similar answers. Frederick immediately summoned his chancellor and the judges who had determined the cause: he received them in a passion; would not allow them to say a word in their defence; upbraided them as misjudges, nay, as miscreants; and wrote out with his own hand a sentence in favour of the miller, with full costs, and a sum as damages which he never claimed. He then dismissed the chancellor from his office, with language too abusive to be repeated; and, after violently kicking the

judges on pushed them out of his closet, and sent them to prison at the fortress of Spandau. All the other judges ministers of justice were clearly of opinion, that the sentence originally given against the miller was a right one, and that the case admitted of no doubt. As for the chancellor, it was universally allowed that the matter came not within his jurisdiction; and that he could not possibly have known anything of the decision. At last a foreign journalist undertook the investigation of the business; and being placed beyond the limits of the royal philosopher's caprice, he published a statement which left no shadow of argument in the miller's favour. As Frederic attended to what was written abroad, and in French, Linguet's production quickly opened his eyes. Not a word was said in public; none of those measures were adopted, by which a great mind would have rejoiced to acknowledge such errors, and offer some atonement to outraged justice. An irritable vanity alone seemed poorly to regulate the ceremony of propitiation; and he who had been mean enough to insult the persons of his judges in the blindness of anger, could scarcely be expected, after his eyes were opened, to show that pride which makes men cease to deserve blame, by avowing, while they atone for, their faults. Orders were secretly given to the miller's adversary, he should not obey the sentence. With

secrecy, a compensation was made to the miller himself. The three judges, after lingering many months in prison, were *quietly* liberated: the chancellor was allowed to remain in disgrace, because he had been most of all injured; and the faithful subjects of his majesty knew too well their duty and his power, to interrupt this paltry silence by any whispers upon what had passed.

If this system of interference, this intermeddling and controlling spirit, thus appeared, even in the judicial department, much more might it be looked for in the other branches of his administration. It was, in truth, the vice of his whole reign; not even suspended in its exercise during war, but raging with redoubled violence, when the comparative idleness of peace left his morbid activity to prey upon itself. If any one is desirous of seeing how certainly a government is unsuccessful in trade and manufactures, he may consult the sketches of this boasted statesman's speculations in that line, as profitably as the accounts which have been published of the royal works and fabrics in Spain. But there are particulars in the policy of Frederic, exceeding, for absurdity and violence, whatever is to be met with in the descriptions of Spanish political economy. We have only room for running over a few detached examples.—When a china manufactory was to be set a-going at Berlin on the royal account, it was thought necessary to

by forcing a market for the wares. According to the Jews, who cannot marry without the permission, were obliged to pay for their brides by purchasing a certain quantity of the cups and saucers at a fixed price.—The introduction of the silk culture was a favourite measure with Frederic; and to make silk-worms and mulberry-trees grow in the Prussian sands, expense must be spared. Vast houses and manufactories were built for such as chose to engage in speculation; a direct premium was granted for the exportation of silk stuffs; and medals were bestowed on the workmen who produced above five pounds of the article in a year. But nature is very unpropitious, even among Prussian grenadiers. In the lists of exports we find no mention made of silk, while it forms a considerable and a regular article of the goods imported.—The settlement of colonists in waste lands was another object of emigration, attention and proportionate expense. Foreigners were enticed and transported by the crimps whom he employed all over Europe for recruiting purposes; they received grants of land; were provided with houses, implements, and live-stock, and supplied with subsistence, until their farms became sufficiently productive to support them. Frederic recalled this supplying the blanks which war had made in his population.—His rage for encouraging the introduction of new speculations was quite

ungovernable. No sooner did his emissaries inform him of any ingenious manufacturer or mechanic, in France or elsewhere, than he bribed him to settle in Berlin, by the most extravagant terms. When he found the success of the project too slow, or its gains, from the necessity of circumstances, fell short of expectation, he had only one way of getting out of the scrape; he broke his bargain with the undertaker, and generally sent him to a fortress; in the course of which transaction, it always happened that somebody interfered, under the character of a minister, a favourite, &c., to pillage both parties. Experience never seemed to correct this propensity. It was at an advanced period of his reign that he sent orders to his ambassadors to find him a general projector—a man who might be employed wholly in fancying new schemes, and discussing those which should be submitted to him. Such a one was accordingly procured, and tempted, by large bribes, to settle at Potsdam.

Frederic's grand instrument in political economy was the establishment of monopolies. Whether an art was to be encouraged, or a public taste modified, or a revenue gleaned, or the balance of trade adjusted, a monopoly was the expedient. Thus the exclusive privilege was granted to one family, of supplying Berlin and Potsdam with firewood; the price was instantly doubled; and the king re-

ived no more than eight thousand a-year of the
 ofits. Well did the celebrated Helvetius remark
 'some applications for such contracts, upon which
 eeking demanded his sentiments, "Sire, you need
 t trouble yourself with reading them through;
 ey all speak the same language—*'We beseech
 ur Majesty to grant us leave to rob your people
 such a sum; in consideration of which, we en-
 ge to pay you a certain share of the pillage.'*"
 ederic was led to conceive that his subjects drank
 o-much coffee in proportion to their means, and
 o too little nourishing food. The universal re-
 dy was applied; and the supply of all the coffee
 ed within his dominions given exclusively to a
 mpany. The price was thus, as he had wished,
 eatly raised, and some of the spoil shared with
 s treasury; but the taste of the people remained
 determined in favour of coffee as before, and of
 urse was much more detrimental to their living.
 obacco, in like manner, he subjected to a strict
 onopoly; and when he wished to have arms fur-
 shed very cheap to his troops, he had again re-
 urse to his usual expedient: he conferred upon
 e house of Daum and Splikberg, armourers, the
 clusive privilege of refining sugar, on condition
 at they should sell him muskets and caps at a
 ry low price. In all his fiscal policy, he was an
 xious observer of the balance of trade, and never
 led to cast a pensive eye upon the tables of ex-

ports and imports. "Every year," says one of his panegyrists, "did he calculate with extreme attention the sums which came into his states, and those which went out; and he saw, with uneasiness, that the balance was not so favourable as it ought to be."* After all his monopolies and premiums for the encouragement of production, he found, it seems, that the exports of his kingdom could not be augmented. "Therefore," adds this author, "he had only one resource left—to diminish the importation;" which he accordingly attempted, by new monopolies and prohibitions.

It remains, before completing our estimate of Frederic's character, that we should recollect his public conduct in the commonwealth of Europe, where he was born to hold so conspicuous a station. And here, while we wonder at the abilities which led him to success, it is impossible not to admit that they belonged to that inferior order which can brook an alliance with profligacy and entire want of principle. The history of the Prussian monarchy, indeed, is that of an empire scraped together by industry, and fraud, and violence, from neighbouring states. By barter, and conquest, and imposture, its manifold districts have been gradually brought under one dynasty; not a patch of the motley mass but recalls the venality or weakness of the surrounding powers, and the unpri-

* Thiebault, iv. 127.

pations of the house of Brandenburg. Frederic II. whose strides, far surpassing his ancestors, raised his family to the primary power; enabled him to baffle all which his ambition had raised against him, and gave the means of forming, himself, a policy for the destruction of whatever had been held most sacred by the potentates of modern times. It is in vain that we dis-encourage ourselves, and endeavour to forget our situation at that fatal crisis. We may rail at the French Revolution—impute the guilt of the other powers the insolent Republican France—and exhaust our licence of tongue upon the chief, who, by his own destinies, made himself master of the world. Europe suffered by, and is still suffering from the partition of Poland. Then its public principles were torn up and scattered by the usurpers of the day;—then it was, that England and France poorly refused to suspend their animosities, and associate in support of any other states, forgetting greater jealousies combined to violate the law;—then power became the measure of duty—when it learnt all the lessons which it has been practising of *arrondissements*, and equilibrium—indemnities—that an assurance of immediate success was held out to those who might

afterwards abandon all principle, provided they were content with a share of the plunder, and the lesson was learnt which the settlers of Europe practised in 1814 and 1815, the lesson which they again practised in 1839, of transferring from the weak to the strong whatever portion of territory it may please them to take, without consulting the wishes of the inhabitants more than the eagles that drag the plough through their fields. When we look back with detestation, then, on the conduct of those powers who perpetrated the crime, and most of all on Frederic who contrived it, let us also reflect, with shame, on the pusillanimity of those who saw, yet helped not; and, in justice to the memory of a truly great man, let us bear in mind, that he who afterwards warned us against the usurpations of France at their nearer approach raised his voice against the dereliction of principle which paved the way for them in the Partition of Poland.*

The details into which we have entered, as descriptive of Frederic's character, may seem to get out of keeping in a sketch like this. But the universal belief of his greatness, and the disposition to exalt his merits because of the success which followed his ambition, render it necessary to reduce those merits to their true dimensions, which a general description could effect.

* Mr. Burke.

Upon the whole, all well-regulated minds will form from a minute view of this famous personage, impressed with no veneration for his character, but as a member of society, a ruler of the people, and a part of the European community. That he possessed the talents of an accomplished warrior and an elegant wit, it would be absurd to deny, and superfluous to demonstrate. He has left us, by his victories, and his writings, the best proofs; and all that is preserved of his conversation leads to a belief that it surpassed his more careful efforts. He ranked unquestionably in the first class of warriors; nor is it doubtful that the system by which, when carried to its full extent, Napôleon's victories were gained, had its origin in the strategy of Frederic,—the plan, namely, of rapidly moving great masses of troops, and always bringing a superior force to bear upon the point of attack. His administration, whether military or civil, was singularly marked by promptitude and energy. Wherever active exertion was required, or could secure success, he was likely to prevail; and as he was in all things a master of those inferior abilities which constitute what we denominate address, it is not wonderful that he was uniformly fortunate in the cabinets of his neighbours. The encouragements which he lavished on learned men were useful, though not always skilfully bestowed; and in this, as in all the departments of his government, we

see him constantly working mischief by working too much. His Academy was no less under command than the best disciplined regiment in service; and did not refuse to acknowledge authority upon matters of scientific opinion or taste in the arts. His own literary acquirements were limited to the *belles lettres*, and moral science even of these he was far from being complete master. His practice, as an administrator, is consistent with an extensive or sound political knowledge; and his acquaintance with the classics was derived from French translations; he knew very little Latin, and no Greek. To his sprightliness in society, and his love of literary company, so rare in princes, he owes the reputation of a philosopher; and to the success of his intrigues in his arms, the appellation of Great:—a title which is the less honourable, that mankind have generally agreed to bestow it upon those to whom their gratitude was least of all due.

GUSTAVUS III.

His nephew of Frederic II. was Gustavus III. of Sweden, and he is certainly entitled to rank among more distinguished men of his age. It was the saying of Frederic, "My nephew is an extraordinary person; he succeeds in all he undertakes;" and considering the difficulties of his position, the adverse circumstances in which some of his enterprises were attempted, his success amply justified the panegyric at the time it was pronounced, and bore the military disasters of his reign.

He was born with great ambition to distinguish his country among the nations of Europe and himself among her sovereigns. Inflamed with the recollection of former Swedish monarchs, and impatient of the low position to which the ancient crown of his country had fallen through a succession of feeble princes, he formed the project of relieving the crown from the trammels imposed on it by an overwhelming aristocracy, as the only means by which the old glories of Sweden could be revived, and the influence of the Gustavuses and the Charleses restored. The king of

the country, indeed, when he ascended it was its sovereign only in name. He had the responsibility of the government cast upon him, he had all its weight resting upon his shoulders, he had all the odium of executing the laws, of suppressing sedition, to levy taxes, to punish. But neither in making those laws nor in determining the policy of the state, nor in administering its resources, had he any perceptible influence ever. The crown was a mere pageant, wholly destitute of power, and only so it could exist because the multitude, accustomed to be governed by kings, required acts of authority to be promulgated in the royal name, and because it was convenient to have some quarter upon which to place the blame of all that was unpopular in the conduct of the government might rest. The real power of the state was certainly in the hands of the nobles, who ruled through the medium of the Diet, an assembly of nominal representatives of the country in which the order of the nobles always prevailed. The Senate in fact governed the state: they could compel meetings of the Diet at any time; they even claimed the command of the army, and issued their orders to the troops without the king's consent.

When Gustavus was abroad on his travels, then about 22 years of age, his father

Paris, where the intelligence reached him, he issued a Declaration filled with the most extravagant expressions of devotion to the constitution, of the liberties of his people, and abhorrence of anything tending towards absolute government, that in Sweden is termed "Sovereignty;" for the Swedes, like the Romans, regarded monarchy, in name, as equivalent to tyranny. He declared that "deeming it his chiefest glory to be a citizen of a free state" he should regard as "as his worst enemies who, being traitors to the country, should upon any pretext whatsoever seek to introduce unlimited royal authority in Sweden," and he reminded the States of the oath which he had solemnly sworn to the constitution. Those who read this piece were struck with the bold expressions in which it was couched; profound observers did not hesitate to draw conclusions wholly unfavourable to the sincerity of the royal author. On his arrival in Sweden, however, he was in little haste to return, he renewed his vows of fealty to the existing constitution; he signed the articles of the Capitulation tendered by the States in the usual form, articles which left the name of king and the shadow of royal authority; absolved the States and his subjects from their allegiance should he depart from his engagements, and menaced with his "utmost wrath" who should dare to propose a single degree of

addition to the present power or splendour of the crown." At his Coronation, which was postponed to the next year, he volunteered an additional display of gratuitous hypocrisy and fraud, when, having taken the oaths to the constitution, he exclaimed "Unhappy the king who wants the tie of oaths to secure himself on the throne, and, unable to reign in the hearts of his people, is forced to rule by legal constraint!"

Thus did this accomplished dissembler contrive for above a year and a half, to keep up the appearance of a constitutional king, while in all his words and actions he affected the republican, and even overdid the part. At length his preparations being completed, he cast the mask away, excited an insurrection of troops in two distant fortresses to distract the senate's attention, and having gained over the regiments in the capital, secured the persons of the senators, assembled the other Estates in a hall surrounded with soldiery, and against which guns were planted and men stationed with lighted matches, while he dictated a new constitution vesting absolute power in the crown, and annihilating the influence of both the nobility and the representatives of the people. This outrageous act of combined treachery and violence he concluded as he had begun with the mockery of oaths, and the most extravagant cant of piety. He swore to the new constitution; he invoked the Divine bless-

on it in an hypocritical prayer ; and he ended ordering all present to sing a psalm, of which he gave out the first line and led the air. Certainly so gross an instance of sustained falsehood and fraud, in all its departments, was never either before or since exhibited by any even of the royal hypocrites who have at various times encroached, by stratagem and by perjury, upon the liberties of mankind.

It is fit that the history of this transaction should be set forth in its own hateful colours, because it was at the time, and has been since, made the subject of great panegyric among the admirers of successful crime. Mankind will never be without transgressors as long as they act against their own

interests by conspiring against those of virtue, make impostors of statesmen and tyrants of princes by transferring to success the praise that should be reserved for virtue, venerating fortune more than prudence, and defrauding the wise and good of their just applause, or suffering it to be shared with the profligate and the daring. A premium is thus held out for unscrupulous violence and unprincipled fraud, when the failure of the worst and the best designs is alone and alike condemned, and the means by which success is achieved are lost sight of in the false lustre that surrounds it.

But tried by a far lower standard than that of

public virtue, the conduct of Gustavus fails. If nothing could more betray a nation than his consummate hypocrisy, it could more show a paltry mind than the his fraudulent pretences when they were unnecessary for his purpose. He might have the overthrow of the constitution just as with quite as much chance of success he accepted the constitution in the ordinary signed the usual Capitulation as a matter. No one objected to his title; while he lived he had been acknowledged the next his succession was certain on his father and if any thing could have directed his hidden designs it was the pains he took in his extravagant professions of zealous devotion to liberty, to show that he was plotting against it. He had nothing to do but to plan his open secret, and in secret to obtain the support of four or five regiments by which he effected his purpose. All his vile canting, both in the declaration from Paris, and in the speech on the constitution, was utterly useless and showed a petty understanding as well as a wicked heart.

Truly he was a profligate man in every sense of the word. He delighted in cunning for its own sake. He preferred accomplishing his ends by trick, and the more tricky any course

rous he thought his pursuit of it, and he liked it. His abilities were unquestioned they were on a paltry scale ; his reasons undoubted, but he was placed in circumstances which enabled him to avoid running risks ; for nothing can be more unwieldy than a state of sixty or seventy persons as direct-
itary force ; and the mob was for him against them. That he showed great coolness in the whole affair is not denied. He quietly suppressed the Revolution on the 21st of August, and retired to a country seat twenty miles from Stockholm, afterwards the property of a Scotchman, named Seton, whom he ennobled. We find there a line or two written by him on a window-shutter, with the above date, and purporting to be a letter, dated at Stockholm, at, " On this day he had come there after the Revolution." When the supreme power was in his own hands, although he maintained it without even a struggle, and afterwards still continued it by a second breach of the constitution, which in 1772 he had as solemnly sworn to maintain, as he had the one which he then overthrew ; there was nothing enlarged or successful in his administration of public affairs, nothing which showed an enlightened or well-regulated mind any more than a liberal mind. Support of the East India Company, and prohibiting the sale of opium under severe penalties to encourage

their trade in tea, or prohibiting France protect the distillation of a very bad corn, were the greatest reach of his economical improvements; while, by expenditure and his fraudulent tampering the coin and afterwards with the paper which he issued in excess, he so reduced the standard, that soon after his death it was at of nearly 50 per cent. below par. The kept its value; but with this he managed to interfere, and in a manner so scandalous that of royal profligacy presents no second any thing so mean and base. An extension was committed in Hamburg or Altona Stockholm Bank by parties whom he eventually gave up. The Bank having defunct time was saved from ruin, though impudently and the agents in the infamous plot received the usual reward of those who suffer themselves made the instruments in the villainies; but they were punished because their projects were beyond the reach of the law, and they became abroad exiles for the rest of their days.

In his military capacity he showed considerable extent, though, as in other respects, not of the first order. He was active, energetic, and prodigal of his person; but so little master of his designs by his means, that he obtained the reputation of being a restless prince.

ie of a considerable warrior; and so little
o form great and happy and well-considered
ations, that he never went beyond daring
illiant failures. The absolute influence of
under the Aristocratic government having
ut an end to by the Revolution, ever after
atherine was plotting to regain her ascen-
r to obtain by force a still more undisputed
ver Swedish affairs. To all her intrigues
us was alive, and often succeeded in counter-
them; to all her insidious proposals he was
seeing through their real object, as when she
have inveigled him into a partition of Den-
Norway to become Russian, and Jutland
he Islands Swedish, he made answer, that
should not put her arm round his neck to
e him." Indeed there can be little doubt
e only wished to draw him into a snare by
ng his consent, that she might betray him
mark, and join with her in destroying him.

therefore, the terms on which these two
ate Sovereigns were with each other had
as unfriendly as possible, and he found
engaged on the side of Turkey in a very
t warfare, he seized the opportunity of at-
g her, and sailed with a fleet up the gulf of
d, so as to threaten Petersburg by his
ch. His first operations were successful,
on a small scale, and in a degree far from

decisive. A battle was then fought in circumstances so adverse to any such operation, that seemed as much contrary to nature in a physical as in a moral view; for the channel was narrow, studded with islands, broken with rocks at every step, and defying all nautical skill to steer the fleet, unless with favouring weather, and without other occupation than that of seamanship. Here did the hostile fleets engage for many days, with immense slaughter on both sides, but without a result, that each claimed the victory. The Russians, however, being greatly superior in numbers, kept the sea afterwards, and the Swedes retreated. An opposition in the Senate increased new obstacles to Gustavus's projects, and he overcame this with his wonted vigour. Appealing to the people, he gave orders, and then surrounded the Senate with his refractory and disaffected body, whose fidelity he could rely on, he arrested thirty of them, and abolished the Senate. A sudden change of his own constitution, and the next campaign was thus freed from all embarrassment, but it was throughout unsuccessful. Defeated by sea, on shore he was so unfortunate; his army, officers as well as soldiers, refused to obey him; and he was reduced to a deplorable expedient, easily suggested by the falseness of his nature, of amusing the

ious accounts of his proceedings ; but his fictions were so clumsy, that their self-contradictions betrayed their origin, and the honest Prince of Brunswick was induced to complain formally of such proceeding, bluntly and ineffectually reminding the monarch that such gross and apparent falsehoods were wholly unworthy a man who was always proud of playing the warrior and the hero.

After these disastrous scenes, from the consequences of which Sweden did not recover for many years, the effects of which long survived their author, he admitted on all hands that his abilities were eminently shown, but above all, that his courage was uniformly displayed in an eminent degree. Doubtful if any capacity could have made up for the vast disparity of strength between the two powers who were thus matched in such unequal combat ; but he often succeeded where an ordinary man would never have ventured ; and although he could not be said to display first-rate talents for war, he yet had no reason to be ashamed of the part he played in its operations.

In private life his profligacy was of the grossest description ; and with the same preposterous folly which made him prefer the most crooked paths in order to show his cunning, he thought that his great object of civilising his dominions could be accomplished by patronising the introduction of foreign vices from other climates among the hardy

excellent artists, of whom Sergel, the
was the most eminent.

His personal accomplishments were considerable; his information was much above that of princes; and though he never attempted as his uncle of Prussia, nor possessed equal superficial kind of learning which that prince prided himself upon, he certainly wrote deal better, or rather less badly, and probably not really his inferior in a literary point. His manners and address were extremely elegant and he was greatly above the folly of stating the dignity of his station, as his liberal, uncle, Frederic, always did; who, willing to pass for a wit among kings, was always enough to be a king among wits, so that the wit was beaten in fair argument, he made in the king to his assistance. *Customs*

argument or for repartee. It was the observation of a man well versed in courts, and who had known much of all the princes of his time,* that Gustavus III. was almost the only one of them who would have been reckoned a clever man in society had he been born a subject.

The same spirit which he showed in the field, in his political measures, he displayed equally in the various attempts made upon his life. The cabinets and museums of Stockholm have several deadly instruments preserved in them, which were directed at his person, and in no instance did he ever lose his presence of mind, or let the attempt be known, which by some extraordinary accident had succeeded. At last he fell by an assassin's hand. For some mysterious reason, apparently unconnected with his political matters, an officer named Anker-Jönem, not a noble or connected with the nobility, shot him in the back at a masquerade. The ground of quarrel apparently was personal: different accounts, some more discreditable to the monarch than others, are given of it; but nothing has been ascertained on sufficient evidence; and these are subjects upon which no public end is served by collecting or preserving conjectures. To dwell upon them rather degrades history into gossiping or tale-bearing, and neither explains men's motives, nor helps us to weigh more accurately the

* Sir Robert Liston.

merits of their conduct any more than to ascertain its springs.

The story of the fortunes of this prince presents no unimportant lesson to statesmen of the relative value of those gifts which they are wont most to prize, and the talents which they are fondest of cultivating. A useful moral may also be drawn from the tale of so many fine endowments being thrown away, and failing to earn an enduring renown, merely because they were unconnected with good principles, and unaccompanied by right feelings. The qualities which he possessed, or improved, or acquired, were those most calculated to strike the vulgar, and to gain the applause of the unreflecting multitude. Brave, determined, gifted as well with political courage as with personal valour, quick of apprehension, capable of application, patient of fatigue, well informed on general subjects, elegant, lively, and agreeable in society, affable, relying on his merits in conversation, and overbearing with his rank none that approached him—who so well fitted to win all hearts, if common popularity were his object, or to gain lasting fame if he had chosen to build upon such foundations a superstructure of glorious deeds? But not content with being prudent and politic, he must affect the power of being able to deceive all mankind; wise only by halves, he must mistake cunning for sagacity; perverted in his taste by vanity,

ust prefer outwitting men by trickery to over-
ing them by solid reason or by fair designs ;
sterously thinking that the greater the trea-
the deeper the policy, he must overlay all
chemes with superfluous hypocrisy and dissi-
tion. Even his courage availed him little ;
se looking only to the outside of things, and
dent only for the first step, he never pro-
lly formed his plans, nor ever thought of
ing his measures to his means. Thus in war
ft the reputation only of failure and defeat ;
id the fame which he acquired by his success-
olitical movements long outlive him, when
saw to how little account he was capable of
ng the power which he had been fortunate
gh to obtain by his bold and managing spirit.
many years men observing the contrast which
resented to other princes in his personal de-
our, and dazzled with the success of his poli-
enterprises, lavished their admiration upon
with little stint, and less reflection ; nor would
had his dominions been more extensive, and
ctions performed on a less confined theatre,
hesitated in bestowing upon him the title of
eat," with which they are wont to reward their
: enemies for their worst misdeeds, and to
se sovereigns into the paths of tyranny and

But he outlived the fame which he had early
red. To his victories over the aristocracy at

home succeeded his defeats by the enemy abroad. It was discovered that a prince may be more clever and accomplished than others, without being more useful to his people, or more capable of performing great actions; and the wide difference between genius and ability was never more marked than in him. By degrees the eyes even of his contemporaries were opened to the truth; and then the arts of treachery, in which it was his unnatural pride to excel, became as hateful to men of sound principles as his preposterous relish for such distinction was disgusting to men of correct taste and right feelings. Of all his reputation, at a time sufficiently brilliant, not any vestige now remains conspicuous enough to tempt others to his crooked paths; and the recollections associated with his story, while they bring contempt upon his name, are only fitted to warn men against the shame that attends lost opportunities and prostituted talents.

THE EMPEROR JOSEPH.

GREAT contrast in every respect to Gustavus I. was presented by another Prince who flourished in the same age, Joseph II. In almost all qualities, both of the understanding and the heart, he differed widely from his contemporary of the north. With abilities less shining though more solid, and which he had cultivated more diligently ; with far more information, acquired somewhat after the laborious German fashion ; with so little love of trick or value for his own address, that he never plumed himself on being a stranger to those courts, and on being defective in the ordinary provision of cunning which the deceitful atmosphere of courts renders almost necessary as a protection against circumvention ; with ambition to excel, but not confined to love of military glory ; with no particular wish to exalt his own authority, nor any disposition to acquire fame by extending the happiness of his people—although presenting to the vulgar gaze a less striking object than Gustavus, he was in all important particulars a far more considerable person, and wanted but little from nature

though certainly much from fortune, to have behind him a great and lasting reputation. That which he did want was, however, sufficient to destroy all chance of realising an eminent station among the lights of the world: for his judgment was defective; he was more restless than persevering; and though not at all wanting in power of labour, yet he often thought of royal roads to his object, and leaving those steep and circuitous routes which nature has formed along the ascent would fall into what has been termed by Lord Bacon the paradox of power—desiring to attain the end without submitting to use the means. Success in such circumstances was hopeless; and accident contributed largely to multiply and exaggerate his failures, insomuch that the unhappy monarch on his death-bed exclaimed in the anguish of his spirit, that his epitaph should be—"Here lies Joseph, who was unsuccessful in all his undertakings." Men looking to the event, rated him very far below his real value, and gave him credit for none of the abilities and few of the virtues which he really possessed. Nothing can be more unjust, more foolish in itself or more mischievous in its consequences, than the almost universal determination of the world to reckon nothing in a person of any value but brilliant talents, and to account worth of little avail in that station in which it is of the most incalculable importance. Nay, let

al life be ever so much disfigured with crime, if have nothing mean, that is, if its vices be all a great scale, and especially if it be covered h military successes, little of the reprobation to its demerits will be expressed, as if the atest of public enormities, the excesses of ambition, effected a composition for the worst private lts. Even our James I. is the object of contempt not so much for the vile life he led as for want of spirit and deficiency in warlike accomplishments; and, if the only one of his failings which was beneficial to his subjects had not existed his character, his name would have descended us with general respect among the Harries and Edwards of an earlier age.

It was in some degree unfortunate for the fame Joseph that he came after so able and so celebrated a personage as his mother, Maria Theresa. t this circumstance also proved injurious to his education; for the Empress Queen was resolved t her son, even when clothed by the Election the Germanic Diet with the Imperial title, ould exercise none of its prerogatives during her e; and long after he had arrived at man's estate, was held in a kind of tutelage by that bold and litic Princess. Having therefore finished his idies, and perceiving that at home he was destined remain a mere cipher while she ruled, he went road, and travelled into those dominions in Italy

nominally his own, but where he had no more concern with the government than the meanest of his subjects; and from thence he visited the rest of the Italian states. An eager, but an indiscriminate thirst of knowledge distinguished him wherever he went; there was no subject which he was not master, no kind of information which he would not amass; nor were any details too minute for him to collect. Nothing can be more praiseworthy than a sovereign thus acquainting himself thoroughly with the concerns of the people over whom he is called to rule; and the undistinguished ardour of his studies can lead to little other harm than the losing time, or preventing the acquisition of important matters by distracting the attention to trifles. But his activity was as indiscriminate as his inquiries, and he both did some harm and exposed himself to much ridicule by the conduct which it prompted. He must needs visit the convents and inspect the works of the nuns; nor was satisfied until he imposed on those whose need moved less quickly than suited his notions of female industry, the task of making shirts for the soldier. So his ambition was equally undistinguishing and unreflecting; nor did he consider that the title which it led him to imitate might well be void of all merit in him, though highly important in the whose example he was following to the letter regardless of the spirit. Thus because the Emperor

China encourages agriculture by driving, at the solemn festival, a plough with the hand that holds at other times the celestial sceptre, the Emperor of Germany must needs plough a ridge in Milanese, where of course a monument was erected to perpetuate this act of princely folly.


But of all his admirations, that which he entered into for the great enemy of his house, his mother, and his crown, was the most preposterous. During the Seven years' war, which threatened the existence of all three, he would fain have served a campaign under Frederic II. ; and although he might probably have had the decency to station himself at the northern frontier, where Russia was the enemy, yet no one can wonder at the Empress Catherine prohibiting her son from taking the recreation of high treason to amuse his leisure hours, or occupying his youth and exposing his person in shaking the throne which he was one day to fill.

At length, however, the day arrived which he had long eagerly panted for, when he was to become personally acquainted with the idol of his devotion. His inflexible parent had, in 1766, prevented them from meeting at Torgau ; but three years afterwards they had an interview of some days at Neiss in Silesia, the important province which Frederic had wrested from the Austrian crown. The veteran monarch has well conveyed an idea of his character in one of his historical works, which indeed

contains very few sketches of equal merit:—"Il affectoit une franchise qui lui sembloit naturelle; son caractère aimable marquoit de la gaieté jointe à la vivacité; mais avec le désir d'apprendre, il n'avoit pas la patience de s'instruire." And certainly this impatience of the means, proportional to an eagerness for the end, was the distinguishing feature of his whole character and conduct through life, from the most important to the most trivial of his various pursuits.

Although Frederic had a perfect right to look down upon Joseph in this view as well as in many others, and although there can be no sort of comparison between the two men in general, yet it is equally certain that, in one most important particular, a close resemblance may be traced between them, and the same defect may be found marring the projects of both. Their internal administration was marked with the same intermeddling and controlling spirit, than which a more mischievous character cannot belong to any system of rule. It is indeed an error into which all sovereigns and all ministers are very apt to fall, when they avoid the opposite, perhaps safer, extreme of indifference to their duties. Nor was he the more likely to steer a middle course, whose power had no limits; whose ideas of government were taken from the mechanical discipline of an army; and whose abilities so far exceeded the ordinary lot of royal co-

andings, that he seemed to have some grounds
hinking himself capable of everything, while
espised the talents of every body else. Yet
it be allowed, that if all other proofs were
ing, this one undoubted imperfection in Fre-
's nature is a sufficient ground for ranking
among inferior minds, and for denying him
higher qualities of the understanding which
such faculties beneficial as he unquestion-
possessed. A truly great genius will be the
to prescribe limits for its own exertions ; to
ver the sphere within which its powers must
oncentrated in order to work, beyond which
diffusion can only uselessly dazzle. But this
knowledge, and a self-command, that Frederic
attained. Though the ignorance and weak-
which he displayed, in the excessive govern-
of his kingdom, were thrown into the shade
s military glory, or partially covered by his
rness and activity, they require only to be
ed apart, in order to excite as much ridicule
as ever bestowed on the Emperor Joseph,
e system of administration indeed greatly
abled his neighbour's, unless that he had more
re to show his good intentions by his blunders,
was guided by better principles in the prose-
on of his never-ending schemes. Like him,
Russian ruler conceived that it was his duty to
ternally at work ; to take every concern in his



dominions upon his own shoulders; seldom to think men's interest safe when committed to themselves, much less to delegate to his ministers any portion of the superintending power, which must yet be everywhere present and constantly on the watch. Both of those princes knew enough of detail to give them a relish for affairs; but they were always wasting their exemplary activity in marring the concerns which belonged not to their department; and extending their knowledge of other people's trades, instead of forming an acquaintance with their own. While other monarchs were making a business of pleasure, they made a pleasure of business;—but, utterly ignorant how much of their professional duties resolved into a wise choice of agents, with all their industry and wit, they were only mismanaging a part of the work, and leaving the rest undone; so that it may fairly be questioned whether their dominions would not have gained by the exchange, had their lives been squandered in the seraglio, and their affairs intrusted to cabinets of more quiet persons with more ordinary understandings.

But although these two eminent men were equally fond of planning and regulating, as they indulged their propensity in different circumstances, so their schemes were not pursued in the same manner, and have certainly been attended with different results. Joseph was a legislator and

or. From the restlessness of his spirit, and want of pressing affairs to employ his portion of time, his measures were often rather busy and hasty, than seriously hurtful; and as the consequence of a plan resulted from his activity and haste, he was still vacant and restless after the plan had been taken for its execution, and consequently deranged it by his impatience to witness the effects of his wisdom; like the child who plants a seed and plucks it up when it has scarcely begun to grow, to see how it is growing. Thus it happened that many of his innovations were done by himself, while others had no tendency to produce any change. Those which were opposed, were pushed to a certain length, and then knew no yield, after mischief had been done by the measure; but few of them survived his own day; such as anticipated, by a slight advance, the natural course of events. Frederic, on the other hand, was not placed in easy circumstances; he was driven from necessity, as much as from vanity; not an adventurer, whose projects must be justified to some account; not an idle amateur, who amuses himself with forming a new scheme when others have failed. Although, then, like Louis XIV., he could afford his designs little time to mature, yet he contrived to force something out of his new applications of power; thus bringing to premature conclusion operations in their own

nature violent and untimely. Hence his necessities, like his rival's idle impatience, allowed plans no chance of coming to perfection; while Joseph destroyed the scheme of yesterday, to make a new one, Frederic carried it forcibly to an imperfect execution before it was well begun. Add to this, that the power of the latter was more absolute, and of a description the best adapted for enforcing detailed commands, he was enabled to carry through his regulating and interfering plans against whatever opposition they met in encounter, while his superior firmness of character and his freedom from the various checks which principle or feeling imposed upon the Austrian monarch, precluded all escape from the rigour of his administration by any other than fraudulent means. Thus, the consequences of his too much governing, of his miserable views in finance, of his constant errors in the principles of commercial legislation, are to be traced at this day through the various departments of the Prussian states. Nor can it be asserted in the present instance, that the powers of individual interest have sufficed to produce their natural effects upon human industry in spite of the shackles by which it has been fettered and cramped.

The intercourse between these two sovereigns which took place at Neiss, in 1769, was not their only meeting; they had another the year after.

dt; and here, if ever, the remark of Vol-
 roved correct, "that the meetings of Sove-
 are perilous to their subjects;" for here was
 ed that execrable crime against the rights of
 id of nations, which has covered the memory
 perpetrators with incomparably less infamy
 ey deserved, the Partition of Poland. Al-
 Joseph's mother was still alive and suffered
 share none of her authority, yet this nego-
 , in which he undeniably was engaged, de-
 him of all pretext for withdrawing from his
 of the disgrace which so justly covers the
 to that foul transaction.

s certain, however, and it is a melancholy
 that this abominable enterprise is the only
 ' all the Emperor's undertakings that ever
 ded. His less guilty attempt in Belgium,
 rmless changes in Austria, his projects of
 reform in Italy, all failed, and failed signally,
 : most part through the careless and unre-
 g manner in which he formed his plans, and
 it of patience in allowing time for their exe-
 . His absurd fancy of being crowned King
 ngary at Vienna, instead of Presburg, and
 orting the regalia out of the country, without
 ssibility of effecting any good purpose, of-
 the national pride of the Hungarians, and
 their suspicions of further designs against
 ights to such a pitch, that for the rest of his

reign he had to encounter the opposition upon whose protection his mother had trusted herself in her extremity, and who had sworn for their King Maria Theresa." His reforms, and indeed his attempts upon the minds of the Flemings, ended in exciting a rebellion, which convulsed the Netherlands of his death. In a far nobler object he failed as usual, and his ill-digested innovations rather confirmed than extirpated what he wished to destroy. He designed to suppress Monasteries, to prevent Appeals to Rome, to retain the power of Ordination and Jurisdiction within the country. But he proceeded inconsiderate a manner as to raise universal alarm among all classes of the Clergy, and even to induce the Pope undertake a journey from Rome in view of turning him aside from his path, and showing their dangerous consequences. His reception was all the Sovereign received; and after his return to Italy, he rashly abolished the Diocesan Seminaries, leaving only five or six for the whole of his dominions; new modelled the limits of the dioceses, altered the whole law of marriage, granted the first time in a Catholic country, the divorce. He removed at the same time the altars from the churches, to show that he trifled as well as graver matters, pursued

remature innovation, and that he was ignorant the great rule of practical wisdom in government, which forbids us to hurt strong and general usages where no adequate purpose is to be served,

trifling or absurd as ever the subject matter be to which those feelings relate. The realm of images, however, was far from the most interesting of the details into which he thrust his interfering hand. He wearied out the clergy as well as his flock with innumerable regulations touch-fasts, processions, ceremonies of the Church, anything, as has been well observed, with which civil power has the least right to meddle, and might be added, everything the most beneath a sovereign's regard : so that Frederic used not unpardonably to speak of him as his "brother the Sex-priest" (*mon frère le Sacristain*). Every one knows how such freaks of power, the growth of a little pride, torment and irritate their objects even more than they lower the reputation and weaken the authority of their authors.

Leaving formerly, with a restlessness so foolish in his position almost to be criminal, chosen the discontent of the whole of his people being flung into opposition by his measures, as the fittest opportunity for going abroad upon a tour through France, where he passed some months in envying all he saw, and being mortified by its superiority to his own possessions, novelty being no cause of tl

journey, for he had been all over that fine country four years before—so now, after having refused the Pope's request, and proceeded still more rapidly in his ecclesiastical changes since the pontifical visit, he chose to return it immediately after he had given this offence; and he passed his time at Rome in vainly endeavouring to obtain the co-operation of Spain with his project for entirely throwing off all allegiance to the Holy See. A few years after, this wandering Emperor repaired to Russia, and accompanied Catherine on her progress through the southern parts of her empire. Here he met with a sovereign who resembled him in one point, and no more; she was devoured by the same restless passion for celebrity, and in her domestic administration undertook everything to finish nothing, how effectively soever she might accomplish the worser objects of her criminal ambition abroad. A witty remark of his connected with this weakness is recorded, and proves sufficiently that he could mark in another what he was unable to correct in himself. She had laid the first stone of a city, to be called by her name, and she requested him to lay the second. "I have begun and finished," said he, "a great work with the Yempress. She laid the first stone of a city and I laid the last, all in one day."

His excessive admiration of Frederic, combined with his thirst of military glory, in the war of the

in 1778, had the effect of neutralising each other. He preferred corresponding to fighting with his pen, who called it a campaign of the pen. Under the mediation of France peace was speedily restored, and an active and vigorous interchange of letters continued for some months, and with no other result. But the war with the Turks, into which Catherine inveigled him, was of a very different character. With them no written compositions could produce any effect; and a series of disasters ensued, which ended in the enemy menacing Vienna itself; after overrunning all Lower Hungary. It was in vain that he endeavoured to rally his defeated troops, or win back victory to his standard by the most indiscriminate severity; cashiering officers by the platoon, and shooting men by the regiment, until at length old Marshal Laudon came forth from his retirement, and the men, animated by the sight of their ancient chief, revalued the enemy, resumed the offensive, and forced Belgrade to capitulate without a siege. At this critical moment, and ere yet he could taste the pleasure, to him so novel, of success, death closed his eyes upon the ruin of his affairs in Belgium, their inextricable embarrassment at home, the death of a sister-in-law (first wife of Leopold), to whom he was tenderly attached, and the unwonted, perhaps unexpected, gleam of prosperity in the Turkish campaign. He died in the flower of his

age, and almost at the summit of the confusion created by his restless folly, a sad instance how much mischief a prince may do to others, and how great vexation inflict upon himself, by attempting in mediocrity of resources things which only a great capacity can hope to execute.

The volume which records the transactions of statesmen often suggests the remark that the success of mediocrity, both in public and in private life, affords a valuable lesson to the world, a lesson the more extensively useful, because the example is calculated to operate upon a far more enlarged scale than the feats of rare endowments. In private individuals, moderate talents, however misused by disproportioned ambition, can produce little harm, except in exposing the folly and presumption of their possessors. But in princes, moderate talents, unaccompanied with discretion and moderation, are calculated to spread the greatest misery on whole nations. The pursuit of renown, when confined to maladministration at home, is extremely mischievous; leading to restless love of change for change's sake, attempts to acquire celebrity by undertakings which are above the reach of who makes them, and which involve the community in the consequences of their failure. The fear always is, that this restless temper, unsuited by adequate capacity, may lead to indulging in the Great Sport of Kings, and that wars, even

al most hurtful to the state, will be waged, any fair chance of avoiding discomfiture grace. Hence a greater curse can hardly on any people than to be governed by a n whom disproportioned ambition, or pre- is vanity, is only supported by the moderate hich, united to sound principles, and under trol of a modest nature, might constitute fety and their happiness. For it is alto- andeniable that, considering the common of princes, the necessary defects of their on, the inevitable tendency of their station nder habits of self-indulgence, and the ss which they all feel, when gifted with a capacity, to seek dominion or fame by deeds, there is far more safety in nations uled by **sovereigns of humble talents, if e only accompanied with an ambition pro- bly moderate.**

THE EMPRESS CATHERINE.

THE two male conspirators against the liberty of mankind, the rights of nations, the peace of the world, have now been painted, but in colors more subdued than the natural hues of their nature. It remains that the most profligate of the age should be portrayed, and she a woman! a woman in whom the lust of power, united with all traces of the softer nature that mankind has left an image of commanding talents, and digious firmness of soul, the capacities to substitute a great character, blended with fierceness of disposition, unscrupulousness of fraud, unrestrained indulgence of the passions, the weakness and all the wickedness, base the worst of the human race.

The Princess Sophia of Anhalt, the smallest of the petty principalities of Northern Germany abounds, was married to Peter III., nephew and heir-presumptive of the Russian crown, and she took the name of Catherine according to the custom of that country.

The profligacy of Elizabeth, then on the throne of the Czars, was little repugnant to the crapulous life which her future successor led, or to his consort following their joint example. The young bride, accordingly, soon fell into the debauched habits of the court, and she improved upon them; for having more than once changed the accomplices of her adulterous indulgences, almost as swiftly as Elizabeth did, she had her husband murdered by her paramour, that is, the person for the time holding the office of paramour; and having gained over the guards and the mob of Petersburg, she usurped the crown to which she could pretend no earthly title. To refute the reports that were current and to satisfy all inquiries as to the cause of Peter's death, she ordered his body to be exposed to public view, and stationed guards to prevent any one from approaching near enough to see the livid hue which the process of strangling had spread over his features.

The reign thus happily begun, was continued in the constant practice of debauchery and the occasional commission of convenient murder. Lover after lover was admitted to the embraces of the Messalina of the North, until soldiers of the guards were employed in fatiguing an appetite which could not be satiated. Sometimes the favourite of the day could be raised to the confidence and the influence of prime minister; but after a while he ceased to

please as the paramour, though he retained his ministerial functions. One of the princes of the blood having been pitched on by a party to be their leader, was thrown into prison; and when the zeal of that party put forward pretences to the throne on his behalf, the imperial Jezebel had him murdered in his dungeon as the shortest way of terminating all controversy on his account, and all uneasiness. The mediocrity of her son Paul's talents gave her no umbrage, especially joined to the eccentricity of his nature, and his life was spared. Had he given his tigress-mother a moment's alarm, he would speedily have followed his unhappy father to the regions where profligacy and parricide are unknown.

Although Catherine was thus abandoned in all her indulgences and unscrupulous in choosing the means of gratifying her ambition especially, yet did she not give herself up to either the one kind of vice or the other, either to cruelty or to lust, with the weakness which in little minds lends those abominable propensities an entire and undivided control. Her lovers never were her rulers; her licentiousness interfered not with her public conduct: her cruelties were not numerous and wanton; not the result of caprice or the occupation of a wicked and malignant nature, but the expedients, *the unjustifiable, the detestable expedients, to which she had recourse when a great end was to be attained.*

The historian who would fully record the life of the Czarina, must deform his page with profligacy and with crimes that resemble the disgusting annals of the Cæsars : but the blot would be occasional only, and the darkness confined to a few pages, instead of blackening the whole volume, as it does that of Tacitus or Suetonius ; for she had far too great a mind to be enslaved by her passions or merely mischievous in her feelings, although the gusts of the one carried her away, and what of the other was amiable had far too little force to resist the thirst for dominion, which, with the love of indulgence, formed the governing motive of her conduct.

Her capacity was of an exalted order. Her judgment was clear and sure ; her apprehension extraordinarily quick ; her sagacity penetrating ; her providence and circumspection comprehensive. To fear, hesitation, vacillation, she was an utter stranger ; and the adoption of a design was with her its instant execution. But her plans differed widely from those of her companion Joseph II., or even of her neighbour Gustavus III. They resembled far more those of her long-headed accomplice of Prussia. They were deeply laid in general, and for the most part well digested ; formed as to their object with no regard to principle, but only to her aggrandisement and glory ; framed as to their execution with no regard to the rights, or mercy for the sufferings of her fellow-creatures.

Over their execution the same dauntless, reckless, heartless feelings presided; nor was she ever to be turned from her purpose by difficulties and perils, or abated in her desire of success by languor and delay, or quelled in her course by the least remnant of the humane feelings that mark the softer sex, extinct in her bold, masculine, and filial bosom.

In one material particular, and in only one, she seemed to betray her original womanhood, and ceased to pursue the substance after she had gone far enough to gratify her vanity with the shadow of outward appearances, and to tickle her ear with popular applause. Her military operations on the side of the East; her attempts at encroachment upon Turkey, whether by skilful negotiations with the Greek chiefs, or warlike movements almost decisively successful against Constantinople;* her measures in concert with Denmark against Sweden, and which only the interposition of England at Copenhagen, in 1788,† prevented from putting Finland in her possession; her share in the execrable Partition of Poland from the beginning of that crime down to its consummation

* Had her admirals pushed their advantages at the Porte was laid prostrate at her feet.

† Our ambassador threatened to bombard Copenhagen with an English fleet, unless the Danes instantly raised the siege of Gottenburgh.

in 1794—all these schemes of her vigorous and daring policy formed a strange contrast with those ebullitions of childish vanity, which laid the foundation of cities in a desert, never to be finished nor ever built above the corner-stone; or assembled upon her route through the wastes of her empire thousands of half-naked savages and clothed them with dresses to be transported in the night and serve the next day's show, while she was making a progress through her barren, unpeopled domains; or made the shells of houses be raised one week, along the road where she was to pass, destined the week after to tumble in premature but inevitable ruins; or collected groups of peasants where none could subsist, and had these same groups carried on in the night to greet her next day with another false semblance of an impossible population in another waste. Nor was there much more reality in her councils of lawgivers to prepare a Code for her vast empire, and her Instructions, supposed to be written by herself, for guiding their deliberations and assisting their labours. But then she had resolved to be the Semiramis of the North; she must both be the Conqueror of Empires, the Founder of Cities, and the Giver of Laws. But it was incomparably more easy for an absolute sovereign at the head of forty millions of slave subjects, with a vast, impregnable, almost unapproachable dominion, if ruled by no princip

obdue other countries, than to improve her own, and to extend the numbers of her vassals, than to increase their happiness or their civilization, she failed in all the more harmless, or beneficent part of her schemes, while she unhappily succeeded in many of her warlike and unprincipled projects and she easily rested satisfied with the name of civil wisdom, and the mere outward semblance of plans for internal improvement, while she enjoyed the sad reality of territorial aggrandisement through cruelty and violence. The court she paid to and they lavished upon her never-ending, executed plans of administration the project which a persevering and successful execution would alone have given her a title. Satisfied with these sounds, she thought not of the matter, and her name has come down in times, though close adjoining her own, every title to respect for excellence in any department of civil wisdom, while her unwise policy in foreign affairs has survived her and afflicts mankind.

A woman of her commanding talents had other holds over the favour of the king than the patronage which her station afforded to dispense. Beside maintaining a kind of embassy at Paris in the person of Grimm, she sent Diderot to St. Petersburg, and purch-

rt's library; patronised the illustrious Euler, and satisfied others of less fame by admitting them to a familiar society of a great monarch; but she so had abilities and information enough to relish his conversation, and to bear her part in it upon nearly equal terms. She had the manly sense, too, far superior to the demeanour of Frederic and the other spoilt children of royal nurseries, that no breach of etiquette, no unbecoming familiarity of a lettered guest ever offended her pride, or abused her official dignity for an instant. Diderot used to go so far in the heat of argument as to tap her on the shoulder or knee with the "*embarquement*" of a French "*savant*," and he only elicited a smile in the well-natured and truly superior person whose rank and even sex he had for the moment forgotten. Her writings, too, are by no means despicable; but the difficulty of ascertaining that any work published by an Empress-queen proceeds from her own pen deprives criticism of all interest as connected with her literary reputation. The most important of her books, indeed, her Instructions to the Commission for composing a Code of Laws, published in 1770, makes no pretension to originality, as whatever it is of value is closely copied from the work of Beccaria. The great variety of her subjects is calculated to augment our suspicions that she made books as she made war, by deputy—by orders from

behalf, attempts upon her life or might subvert a throne founded upon law, and fortified by many years. Catherine had no sooner seized upon the Czars than all her difficulties once only or twice, during her reign thirty and forty years, was she ever any threats of a competition for her due to the Englishwoman, that her greatness and clemency combined should overcome these untoward circumstances. No personal safety urged her to adopt any error to consult her security by unlawful means; did she ever but once seek a justifiable conduct in the extraordinary and even dangers of her position. Catherine walked to supreme power over her husband, easily defended her sceptre by the same policy which had enabled her to grasp it; in no instance in which Elizabeth shed blood for her own safety, admitted of extension; could not be justified, by the conspiracy against her life; and the times she lived in, making assassination perilous, instead of rival in a dungeon, she at least brought her openly into a court of inquiry, and judged, executed, under colour of law, in the face of the world.

In one thing, and in one alone, the

Englishwoman to the German must be admitted; and this arose from the different circumstances of the two Sovereigns, and the feebleness with which the former was invested. Though her whole reign she was a dissembler, a flatterer, a hypocrite. Whether in steering her wretched way between rival sects, or in accommodating herself to conflicting factions, or in pursuing the course she had resolved to follow amidst the various opinions of the people, she ever displayed a degree of cunning and faithlessness which it is impossible to contemplate without disgust. But if there be any one passage of her life which calls for this sentiment more than another, it is her conduct respecting the execution of Mary Stuart—her hateful duplicity, her execrable treachery towards the instruments she used and sacrificed, her cowardly skulking behind those instruments to escape the censures of the world. This was the crowning act of a whole life of despicable craft and hypocrisy; and, from the necessity of resorting to this, Catherine's more absolute power rendered her free: not that the Empress's history is unaccompanied with traits of a like kind. When her troops had sacked the suburbs of Warsaw, and consummated the partition of Poland by the butchery of thousands of her victims, she had the blasphemous effrontery to celebrate a *Te Deum* in the metropolitan cathedral, and to promulgate an ad-

dress to the people, professing "to cherish them the tender feelings of a mother toward her offspring." It vexes the faith of pious men to witness scenes like these, and not see the fires of Heaven descend to smite the guilty and impious actors.

In the whole conduct of their respective governments it would be hard to find a greater contrast than is exhibited by these two famous princesses. While Catherine sacrificed everything to outshine in her domestic administration, Elizabeth looked ever and only to the substance; the former caring nothing how her people fared or her realm were administered, so she had the appearance of splendour and filled the world with her name; the latter, intent upon the greatest service which a sovereign in her circumstances could perform, in allaying the religious dissensions that distracted the different classes of her subjects, and maintaining her crown independent of all foreign dictation. Assuming the sceptre over a barbarous people scattered through a boundless desert, Catherine found the most formidable obstacles opposed by nature to what was obviously prescribed by the circumstances of her position as her first duty, the diffusing among her rude subjects the blessings of civilization; but desirous only of the fame which could be reaped from sudden operations, and impatient of the slow progress by which natural improvement

ever proceed, she overcame not those obstacles, and left her country in the state in which it could have been whoever had filled her place. Seated on the throne of a nation torn by factions and ruled by a priesthood at once tyrannical and intolerant, Elizabeth, by wise forbearance, and to perfect steadiness of purpose, by a judicious use of her influence wheresoever her eye, instantly watchful, perceived that her interposition would help the right cause, above all, by teaching the sect that she would be the servant of none, she disposed to be the friend of all, and would lend her support to that faith which her conscience approved without suffering its professors to oppress those of rival creeds, left her country in a state of peace at home as remarkable and as beneficial as the respect which her commanding talents and determined conduct imposed on foreign nations.

The aggrandisement of the Russian empire during Catherine's time, at once the monument of her great crimes and the source of the influence ever afterwards exerted by her successors over the affairs of Europe, has been felt by all the other powers as a just punishment of their folly in permitting Russia to be despoiled, and by none more than those who were the accomplices in that foul transaction. It is almost the only part of her administration that remains to signalise her reign; but as long as mankind persist in preferring for the sub-

ject of their eulogies mighty feats of power, to useful and virtuous policy, the Empress Catherine's name will be commemorated as synonymous with greatness. The services of Elizabeth to her people are of a far higher order; it is probable that they owe to her the maintenance of their national independence; and it is a large increase of the debt of gratitude thus incurred to this great princess, that she ruled in almost uninterrupted peace, while by the vigour of her councils, and the firmness of her masculine spirit, she caused the alliance of England to be courted, and her name feared by all surrounding nations.

If, finally, we apply to these two Sovereigns the surest test of genius and the best measure of success in their exalted station—the comparative merit of the men by whom they were served—the German sinks into insignificance, while the Englishman shines with surpassing lustre. Among the ministers who served Catherine, it would be difficult to name one of whom the lapse of forty years has any remembrance: but as Elizabeth never had a man of inferior, hardly one of middling capacity in her service, so to this day, at the distance of between two and three centuries, when any one refers to the greatest statesmen in the history of England, he turns instinctively to the Great Ministers of the Virgin Queen.

APPENDIX.

I.

ss of a most accomplished and venerable person,
 at of a former age, and fortunately still preserved
 the present (1836), has permitted the insertion
 ving interesting note:—

nstance attended Lord Chatham's eloquent in-
 nst our employment of the Indians in the Ame-
 which we have not handed down to us along
 which could hardly fail to be noticed at the
 very same thing had been done in the former
 on in Canada by his authority and under his
 ate superintendence; the French had arrayed a
 se savage warriors against us, and we, without
 ayed another against them. This he thought
 n the most positive manner, although the mi-
 ed to produce documents written by himself
 it from among the papers at the Secretary's
 arm debate ensued, and at length Lord Am-
 eneral who had commanded our troops in that
 ar, was so loudly appealed to on all sides, that
 l him to rise, and, most unwillingly (for he
 ected Lord Chatham), falter out a few words;
 ever, to acknowledge the fact—a fact admitted
 nd even assumed by the opposition lords who
 rards. They seemed to lay the question quietly
 s it concerned Lord Chatham's veracity, and

only insisted upon the difference between the two—the one foreign, the other civil; arguing also, that might have been under some necessity of using retaliation since the French certainly first began the practice so abhorred. The Annual Register for 1777 states, that Burke took the same course in the House of Commons.

“Upon hearing what had passed in the House of Lords Lord Bute exclaimed with astonishment—‘Did Pitt deny it?—Why, I have letters of his still by me, all *à la Paans* over the advantages we gained through Indian allies.’ Could what he thus said have been upon when it was almost a soliloquy spoken rather *before* than to his wife and daughters, the only persons present? The letters he mentioned were probably neither official nor confidential, but such common notes as might pass between him and Lord Chatham while still upon a footing of intimacy.

“It must be observed that, in 1777, Lord Bute had withdrawn from all political connexions, lived in great retirement, and had no intercourse whatever with the party then in power.”

II.

THE following very interesting letter is from the young and only surviving daughter of Lord North. All comment upon its merits or its value is superfluous:—

“MY DEAR LORD BROUGHAM,

“You mentioned to me the other night your intention of writing the character of my father, to be placed among some other characters of the statesmen of the last century that you are preparing for the press, and at the same time stated the difficulty of describing a man of whom you had no personal knowledge. This conversation induced me to cast back my mind to the days of my childhood and early youth, that I may give you such in-

of my father's private life as those recollections will
rd.

Lord North was born in April, 1733; he was educated
Eton school, and then at Trinity College, Oxford; and
completed his academical studies with the reputation of
ing a very accomplished and elegant classical scholar.
then passed three years upon the Continent, residing
cessively in Germany, Italy, and France, and acquiring
languages of those countries, particularly of the last.
spoke French with great fluency and correctness; this
airement, together with the observations he had made
n the men and manners of the countries he had visited,
e him what Madame de Staël called *l'esprit Européen*,
enabled him to be as agreeable a man in Paris, Naples,
l Vienna as he was in London. Among the lighter ac-
plishments he acquired upon the Continent was that of
eing: I have been told that he danced the most graceful
tuet of any young man of his day: this, I must own,
prised me, who remember him only with a corpulent
vy figure, the movements of which were rendered more
tward and were impeded by his extreme near-sighted-
t before he became totally blind. In his youth, how-
r, his figure was slight and slim; his face was always
n, but agreeable, owing to its habitual expression of
erfulness and good humour; though it gave no indication
he brightness of his understanding.

Soon after his return to England, at the age of twenty-
æ, he was married to Miss Speck, of Whitelackington
k, Somersetshire, a girl of sixteen; she was plain in her
son, but had excellent good sense; and was blessed with
gular mildness and placidity of temper. She was also
deficient in humour, and her conversational powers were
no means contemptible; but she, like the rest of the
ld, delighted in her husband's conversation, and being
nature shy and indolent, was contented to be a happy
emer during his life, and after his death her spirits were

too much broken down for her to care what she was there they had been in love with each other when married I don't know, but I am sure there never was a happier union than theirs during the thirty-six years it lasted. I never saw an unkind look, or heard an unkind word pass between them; his affectionate attachment was as unabated, as her love and admiration of him.

" Lord North came into office first, as one of the Secretaries of the Treasury, I believe, about the year 1763, and in 1766 was appointed as one of the Joint Paymasters.* He then became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and soon after First Lord of the Treasury. He never would allow us to call him Prime Minister, saying, there was nothing in the British Constitution. He continued in office thirteen years: during the three last he was most anxious to retire, but he suffered himself to be overcome by the earnest entreaties of George III. that he should stay. At length, the declining majorities in the House of Commons made it evident that there must be a change of Ministry, and the King was obliged reluctantly to receive his resignation. This was a great relief to his mind, although I do not believe that my father ever entertained any doubt as to the justice of the American war, but he was sure that he wished to have made peace three years before its termination. I perfectly recollect the satisfaction expressed by my mother and my elder sisters upon this occasion, and my own astonishment at it; being at the

* An anecdote is related of his Paymastership, which paints, though in homely colours, his habitual goodness. He was somewhat disappointed at finding he had a colleague who was to divide the emoluments of the office, which was then chiefly prized for its large perquisites. The day he took possession of the official house a dog had died in the hall, and Lord North, ringing for the servant, who was sure, in clearing the nastiness away, that he had done it to his colleague, as it was a perquisite of the office.—EDITOR.

even years old, and hearing in the nursery the words of the women about 'My Lord's going out of office, the power of making their husbands disappointed going out of power must be a sad thing, and that the family were crazy to rejoice at it!

It is hardly necessary to say that Lord North was perfectly honest and pure in money matters, and that he was a poorer man than when he came into it. His salary was still living at that time, his income would have been provided for the education and maintenance of his children, and for the support of his habitual, though generous hospitality, but the office of Lord Warden of the Ports becoming vacant, the King conferred it

His circumstances, by this means, became adequate to his wishes, as he had no expensive tastes, or love of display; but he was thoroughly liberal, and had great liberality in social intercourse, which even in those days could not be had without expense. Lord North did not resign his office, the much criticised Coalition Ministry was formed the year following, 1783. The proverb says, 'Experience acquaints us with strange bedfellows;' it is no wonder that a third party reconciles adversaries.

My brother was a Whig by nature, and an enthusiastic supporter of Mr. Fox; he, together with Mr. Adam, and Mr. Eden (afterwards Lord Auckland), were, I believe, the principal promoters of the Coalition. My mother, I remember, was averse to it, not that she troubled her head about a Tory or a Whig, but she feared it would compromise her husband's political consistency. I do not profess any opinion upon this subject, having been too young at the time to form any, and since I grew up I have been too decided a Whig myself to be a fair judge. The Coalition Ministry, in which Mr. Fox was at the head of the Treasury, lasted but a few months: in 1784 Lord North of the Home Office, and the Duke of Devonshire of the Treasury, began his long administration. My father, after

he was out of office, attended Parliament, and spoke and voted, independent of the opinions of allies; but this made no difference in the cord of their friendship, which remained unimpaired to the end of his life.

"I will now attempt to give you my impression of my father's style of conversation and character in private. His wit was of the most genuine and playful kind, and he related (*narroit*) remarkably well, and liked conversing on literary subjects; yet so completely were all these elements mixed and amalgamated by good taste, that I would never have described him as a sayer of *bon mots*, or a teller of good stories, or as a man of literature, or as the most agreeable member of society and truly delightful companion. His manners were those of a high-bred gentleman, particularly easy and natural; indeed, good breeding so marked a part of his character, that it would have been an affectation in him to have been otherwise than what he was. With such good taste and good breeding, his raillery could not fail to be of the best sort—always amusing and never wounding. He was the least fastidious of men, possessed the happy art of extracting any good that there was to be extracted out of anybody. He never would let his ill-humour call people *bored*; and I remember the triumph of the family, when, after a tedious visit from a very vain and empty man, he exclaimed, 'Well, that man is a sufferable bore!' He used frequently to have large parties of foreigners and distinguished persons to dine with him at Bushy Park. He was himself the life and soul of the parties. To have seen him then, you would have said he was there in his true element. Yet I think that he derived really more enjoyment when he went into the country on Saturday and Sunday, with only his own family, and two intimate friends: he then entered into all the fun of his children, was the companion and intimate friend of his elder sons and daughters, and the merry, ent-

my fellow of his little girl, who was five years younger than any of the others. To his servants he was a most kind and indulgent master: if provoked by stupidity or incontinence, a few hasty, impatient words might escape him;

I never saw him *really out of humour*. He had a drunken, stupid groom, who used to provoke him; and so, from this uncommon circumstance, was called by the children 'the man that puts papa in a passion;' and I think continued all his life putting papa in a passion, and being given, for I believe he died in his service.

In the year 1787 Lord North's sight began rapidly to fail him, and in the course of a few months he became totally blind, in consequence of a palsy on the optic nerve. His nerves had always been very excitable, and it is probable that the anxiety of mind which he suffered during his unsuccessful contest with America, still more than his incessant application to writing, brought on this calamity, which he bore with the most admirable patience and resignation; nor did it affect his general cheerfulness in society.

The privation of all power of dissipating his mind by outward objects or of solitary occupation could not fail to produce at times extreme depression of spirits, especially as the malady proceeded from the disordered state of his nerves. These fits of depression seldom occurred, except during sleepless nights, when my mother used to read to him, until he was amused out of them, or put to sleep.

In the evenings, in Grosvenor-square, our house was the centre of the best company that London afforded at that time. Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, Mr. Sheridan, occasionally; Lord Stormont, Lord John Townshend, Mr. Windham, James Erskine, afterwards Lord Rosslyn, his uncle, and Lord Loughborough, habitually frequented our drawing-room: these, with various young men and women, his children's friends, and whist-playing ladies for my mother, completed the society. My father always liked the company of young people, especially of young women who were

to him by turns, wrote his letters, led him
were his constant companions.

"In 1792 his health began to decline:
and his appetite; his legs swelled, and sym-
were apparent. At last, after a peculiarly
questioned his friend and physician, Dr.
him not to conceal the truth: the result was
ren owned that water had formed upon t
could not live many days, and that a few h
period to his existence. He received this
with firmness and pious resignation, but it
the serenity and cheerfulness of his manner
hour, during the remaining ten days of his
return of depression of spirits. The fir
when aware of his immediate danger, w
Mr. John Robinson (commonly known by
Rat-catcher) and Lord Auckland might b
being the only two of his political friends
had hurt and offended him, he wished to
shake hands cordially, and to forgive them.
the summons of course, and the reconcilia
Mr. Fisher had always delighted in it.

desired to have the French newspapers read to him, at time they were filled with alarming symptoms of errors that shortly after ensued. Upon hearing them, he said, 'I am going, and thankful I am that I shall not see the anarchy and bloodshed which will soon overtake that unhappy country.' He expired on the 5th of June, 1792.

Lord North was a truly pious Christian; and (although from his political view of the subject) I believe that one of his speeches he made in Parliament was against the repeal of the Test Act, yet his religion was quite free from bigotry or intolerance, and consisted more in the beautiful spirit of Christian benevolence than in outward and formal observances. His character in private life was, I believe, as blameless as that of any human being can be; and those parts of his public life which appear to have been the most questionable, proceeded, I am entirely convinced, from some one must own was a weakness, though not an unamiable one, and which followed him through his life, the want of power to resist the influence of those he loved.

"I remain,

"My dear Lord,

"Gratefully and sincerely yours,

"CHARLOTTE LINDSAY.

Green-street,

May the 18th, 1839."

III.

*Elizabeth's Conduct to Mary, Queen of Scots.**

The whole subject of Mary's conduct has been involved in controversy, chiefly by the partisans of the House of Stuart.

This Appendix has been added in deference to the suggestion of a friend, whose sound judgment and correct taste entitled to command all respect, and who considered that the most just view would be given of Elizabeth's conduct if no allusion were made to the sketch in the text.

after the Revolution, and somewhat also by the conduct of the Catholic party in both England and Scotland, her part as an enemy of the Reformed religion. Her conduct towards her has also in a considerable degree made the subject of political disputation. But it may be affirmed that there are certain facts, which are not doubted, which indeed even the most violent partisans of both those Princesses have all along admitted, which tend to throw a great, though certainly a very unequal degree of blame upon both.—Let us first of all state the unquestioned facts.

1. It is certain that Darnley, Mary's second husband, was foully murdered, and equally certain that Mary was really suspected, and was openly charged, as an accomplice in the murder, if not the contriver of the crime.

2. Yet it is equally certain that, instead of taking any active steps to bring the perpetrators to punishment, both by conjugal duty and by a just desire to wipe the stain affixed to her character, she allowed a mere trial to take place which outraged every principle of justice, while she refused Lennox the father's offers of evidence to convict the murderers.

3. Bothwell had only of late been admitted to polite society; he was a man of coarse manners and bad character, universally accused and now known to have been the principal in the murder. No one pretends to seriously doubt his guilt: yet immediately after the event she married him, and married him with a manifest fraud, a pretence of being forced to it, so coarse and gross could deceive nobody, and so gross as only to be excused by the still grosser passion which actuated her whole conduct.

4. That he was married when their intimacy began is not denied. Nor is it doubted that she consented to marry him before his former marriage had been dissolved.

5. The divorce which dissolved it was hurried through the Courts in four days, by the grossest fraud and

on the parties. Hence Mary was as much guilty of any in marrying him as was the Duchess of Kingston centuries later: for the Duchess produced also a sentence of annulment *à mensâ et thoro* in her defence, obtained with comparably greater formality—but obtained through collusion, and therefore considered as a nullity—and she was accordingly convicted of the felony.

These acts of Mary's were of so abominable a nature that all rational men were turned away from supporting her deposition was almost a matter of course in any Christian or indeed in any civilised country.

as regards Elizabeth:

When Mary took refuge in England, all her previous conduct gave Elizabeth no kind of title to detain her as a prisoner, nor any right even to deliver her up as a prisoner on request of the Scots, had they demanded her.

In keeping her a prisoner for twenty years under various pretexts, Elizabeth gave her ample licence and countenance for whatever designs she might form to deprive her of her liberty.

The conspiracy of Norfolk looked only to the maintenance of her strict rights, the restoration of her personal freedom, and her marriage with that ill-fated nobleman, for which she was willing to solemnise as soon as she could be released from Bothwell, who having lived for some years as a prisoner, afterwards died mad in a Danish prison.

Labington's conspiracy included rebellion and also the deposition of Elizabeth; and great and certainly very severe pains are taken by Mary's partisans to rebut the charge of her having joined in it. She, indeed, never pretends to resist the proof that she was a party to the conspiracy in general; she only denied her knowledge of the plot of assassination. But supposing her to have been also ignorant of that, it seems not too relaxed a view of duty to hold that one sovereign princess detained unjustifiably in prison by another for twenty years, has a right to use

even extreme measures of revenge. In self-defence all are justifiable, and Mary had no other means than with the knife against her oppressor.

5. For this accession to Babington's conspiracy, she was brought to trial by that oppressor, who had violated every principle of justice and every form of law, in making her a prisoner for twenty years.

6. Being convicted on this trial, the sentence was executed by Elizabeth's express authority; although, with a creation of falsehood utterly disgusting, and which holds character up to the scorn of mankind in all ages, she pretended that it had been done without her leave and against her will, and basely ruined the unfortunate man who, obeying to her commands, had conveyed to be executed the orders she had signed with her own hand.

The pretence upon which the proceeding of the trial is the most plausibly be defended, is, that a Foreign Prince while in this country, like all foreigners within its borders, is subject to the municipal law, and may be punished for its violation. This, however, is a groundless position even if the Foreign Prince were voluntarily here resident; for not even his representative, his ambassador, is subject to our laws, either civil or criminal, as a statute declares the former law has distinctly laid down,* although in an earlier period Cromwell hanged one for murder. But it may be said that this part of international law had not been settled in the sixteenth century, at all events it was not known then that no power can have a right to seize or detain a person of a Foreign Prince and detain him prisoner; that, consequently, if so detained, that Foreign Prince owes no allegiance to the laws of the realm.

But although Elizabeth's conduct towards Mary is wholly unjustifiable, and fixes a deep stain upon her name (blackened still more by the gross falsehood and hypocrisy

* The Stat. 7 Anne, c. 12.

with which it was thickly covered over), it may nevertheless be said that she merits the commendation of having acted against her kinswoman with open hostility, and sacrificed her by the forms at least of a trial, instead of procuring her life to be privately taken away. A little reflection will remove any such argument used in mitigation of her crime. That she preferred murder by due course of law to murder by poison, was the merit of the age rather than of the person. Two centuries, perhaps one, earlier, she would have used the secret services of the gaoler in preference to the public prostitution of the judge. But she knew that Mary's death, if it happened in prison, even in the course of nature, would always be charged upon her as its author; and she was unwilling to load her name with the shame, even if she cared not how her conscience might be burdened with the guilt. She was well aware, too, of the formidable party which Mary had in the country, and dreaded not only to exasperate the Catholic body, but to furnish them with the weapons against herself which so great an outrage on the feelings of mankind would have placed in their hands. Besides, she well knew that the trial was a matter of easy execution and of certain result. She was delivered over, not to a judge and jury acting under the authority of the law in its ordinary course of administration, but to forty peers and privy councillors, selected by Elizabeth herself, whose very numbers, by dividing the responsibility, made their submission to the power that appointed them a matter of perfect ease, and the conviction of Mary an absolute certainty. In every view, then, which can be taken of the case, little credit can accrue to Elizabeth for preferring a mode of destroying her rival quite as easy, quite as sure, and far more safe, than any other: Not to mention that it must be a strange kind of honour which can stoop to seek the wretched credit of having declined to commit a downright murder, rather than destroy the victim by an open trial.

If, then, it be asked upon what grounds Elizabeth's me-

mory has escaped the execration so justly due to answer is found not merely in the splendour of her actions, and the great success of her long reign under circumstances of extraordinary difficulty, but rather in the previous bad conduct of Mary—the utter scorn in which mankind held her except those whom personal attachment or religious frenzy blinded—the certain effect of opening the eyes of even those zealots, when her true and noble conduct came to be considered—and chiefly the belief that she, who was supposed to have joined in the assassination of her own husband, and was admitted to have married his brutal murderer while his hands were reeking with blood, had also been a party to a plot for assassinating the English queen. These considerations have unnaturally operated on men's minds against the view of Elizabeth's crooked and cruel policy; and it is an undeniable consequence of sympathy for the oppressed being increased, that the hatred of the oppressor is diminished in proportion.

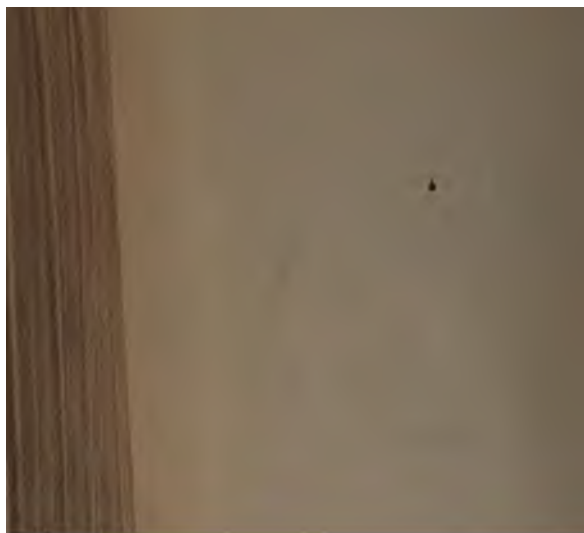
The foregoing statements have proceeded upon the basis of assuming no facts as true respecting the conduct of Mary or Elizabeth, excepting those which are generally admitted, and which have indeed never been denied at the time or in the heats engendered by subsequent controversy. The result is against both those famous queens, loading the memory of the one with a degree of guilt which no woman of ordinary feeling could endure, and placing the other to the gravest charges of perfidy and injustice. But it would be giving a very imperfect view of the case if conduct were we to stop at these admitted facts.

The proofs against her in respect of Darnley's murder, although not sufficient to convict her in a court of law, are quite decisive of her guilt, when the question is considered as one of historical evidence. Indeed it is safely affirmed, that no disputed point of historical fact is supported by stronger evidence. The arguments to prove the

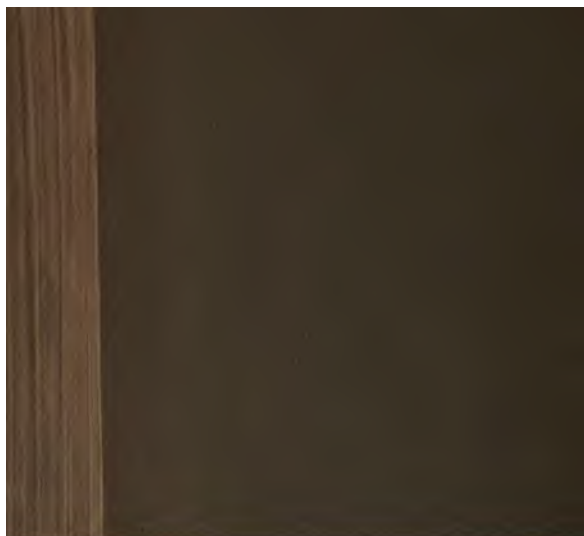
some other circumstances which shake the certainties." Nothing can betray greater ignorance of the first principles of the law of evidence. The facts he speaks of do not even exist; there is nothing mentioned in his enumeration of proofs; and even if Mr. Hume's acuteness could fancy that we confesses behind a prisoner's back that he has done it, it is not for a person to say to that prisoner, or rather that to show him ciphered letters not produced of course could be anything like evidence to affect him. This is a very dangerous thing to do, and shows how dangerous a thing it is to be too much expert in his own line to pronounce matters beyond it.

END OF VOL. II.









007 21 1937

[illegible]

Abstract The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of a 6-week training program on the physical fitness and health-related quality of life (HRQL) of older adults. A total of 70 participants were randomly assigned to either a control group or an exercise group. The exercise group performed a supervised, low-impact aerobic dance program three times per week for six weeks. Physical fitness measures included heart rate, blood pressure, and body composition. HRQL was measured using the SF-36 questionnaire. Results showed significant improvements in physical fitness and HRQL for the exercise group compared to the control group. These findings suggest that a structured exercise program can effectively improve the physical fitness and HRQL of older adults.

[illegible][illegible]

1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 2680, 26

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]

Figure 1

[illegible][illegible]

Abstract The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of a 6-week training program on the psychophysiological responses of young adults during a simulated military task. Twenty-four participants were randomly assigned to either a control group or a training group. The control group performed the task without training, while the training group underwent a 6-week training program before performing the task. The results showed that the training group had significantly lower heart rate, blood pressure, and skin temperature compared to the control group during the task. These findings suggest that a 6-week training program can improve physiological responses during a simulated military task.

[illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible][illegible]